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SELECT EARLY ENGLISH POEMS
IN ALLITERATIVE VERSE
EDITED BY SIR I. GOLLANCZ

III. A GOOD SHORT DEBATE BETWEEN

WINNER AND WASTER

AN ALLITERATIVE POEM ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN ENGLAND IN THE YEAR 1352

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WINNER AND WASTER

An Alliterative Poem on Social and Economic Problems
in England in the year 1352
With Modern English Rendering

EDITED BY

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I AM heartily grateful to Dr. MABEL DAY, Lecturer in English at King's College, London, for continuing the valued help she has given my husband, Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, during the issue of these texts, and for her kindness in preparing this second edition of *Winner and Waster*.

A. G.

27 *October* 1930.

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WYNNERE AND WASTOURE

AC I SHAL SEYE AS I SAW, SO ME GOD HELPE,
HOW PERTLY AFOR THE POEPLE RESOUN GAN TO PRECHE.
HE BAD WASTOURE GO WORCHE WHAT HE BEST COUTHE,
AND WYNNEN HIS WASTYNG WITH SOMME MANERE CRAFTE.

Piers Plowman, B. V. 22–5.

PREFACE

The Manuscript. *Wynnere and Wastoure*, first printed by the present editor as an Appendix to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, issued by the Roxburghe Club in 1897, and now for the first time edited, follows that poem in the fifteenth-century Thornton manuscript, British Museum Add. MSS. 31042. It is in the scribe's characteristic hand, as may be seen from the pages reproduced in this volume. The manuscript is incomplete, and no other text is extant.

The scribe must have copied *Wynnere and Wastoure* from a manuscript illegible in many parts. A minute study has revealed an unexpectedly large number of errors due to corruption, misreading, substitution of words, and other causes. A comparison of the Thornton text of *Wynnere and Wastoure* with that of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* makes it quite clear that it must have passed through various stages of corruption before it reached the scribe. The text before him may have been derived from a copy of the poem carried in a minstrel's wallet, which had become illegible in many places.

The substitution of more modern words for difficult, rare, and archaic forms, and the obvious attempts to make some sense of corrupt passages, must be referred to scribal intention, whether on the part of Thornton or a predecessor.

The task of dealing with the many errors has necessitated very bold treatment of the text, as may be seen from the long list of emendations. There is perhaps no more corrupt Middle-English manuscript than this of *Wynnere and*

Wastoure. It is hoped that the poet's diction as well as the meaning of this remarkable poem may now have been restored.

Probably very little of the poem is lost. The dreamer no doubt was roused from his vision by the sound of trumpets, and found himself resting by the bank of the burn, the tale ending with some pious reflection, by way of conclusion.

Authorship of the poem. There is no clue to the name of the poet, though from the Prologue it may be inferred that he was a 'western man'. He was certainly a professional minstrel, of humble rank.[1] To him we may safely assign the authorship of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*; the two poems may be described as companion poems. Passages in the one are strongly reminiscent of passages in the other;[2] the general framework of the two pieces is much the same; whole lines are identical;[3] further, the tests of language and metre all tend to confirm identity of authorship.

Date of the poem. Internal evidence dates the poem as belonging to the year 1352. In l. 202 it is explicitly stated that the king, Edward III, has fostered and fed the disputants these five-and-twenty years. Further, there is distinct allusion to the Statute of Treasons (1352), evidently recently promulgated, ll. 130–3; and many references to be discussed further on corroborate this evidence.

The following time-indications and contemporary allusions are noteworthy:

(i) The striking reference to the Order of the Garter,

[1] The attempt to identify him with the noble 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale' ignores this personal clue. There is no evidence in any way tending to make the theory at all possible (cp. *Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, by George Neilson, 1902).

[2] *Cp. e. g.* ll. 110-20, *Parl.* 110-35; *cp.* description of Waster generally with Youth in *Parl.*, and Winner with Middle Age.

[3] *Cp.* l. 37 with *Parl.* 14, l. 240 with *Parl.* 189. Other parallels are referred to in the Notes *passim.*

ll. 160–8, with its famous motto, *Hȯni soit qui mal* [*y*] *pense*, excellently rendered into English alliterative verse, 'Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme thynkes'.[1] The foundation of the Order is now generally assigned to 1344, but its institution was not carried out till St. George's Day, 1349.

(ii) The delightful picture of the Black Prince, 'ȝongeste of ȝeris and ȝapeste of witt', already 'dubbede knyghte', and bearing the three ostrich feathers, ll. 103–20, probably already associated with his motto 'Ich dien'.[2] This could not have been written many years after the Prince's heroic feats at Creçy; these had won for him honour and fame. At the beginning of that campaign he received knighthood from his father.

(iii) The heraldic allusions, ll. 74–80,—the combined arms of the two countries, 'the lely and the lepard' (as another contemporary poet, Minot, puts it) 'gedered on a grene'. This reference must have had special point after Edward's great victory, though he had already, as early as 1337, quartered the arms of France. The poet was evidently emphasizing that, at the time he was writing, no negotiations involving the renunciation of Edward's claim to the French crown were under consideration. It was in July 1353 that Edward offered to give up his claim to the crown on receiving Guienne, Normandy, Ponthieu, and other demands.

(iv) The description of Edward III with his 'bery-brown berde'. He is evidently of early middle age, that is about forty.

(v) 'Ynglysse besantes full brighte, betyn of golde', l. 61; this looks like a special reference to the new issue of gold coinage in 1351. The famous English 'noble', which had been first struck in 1343, was deservedly pre-eminent

[1] It is to be noted that at the end of the MS. of *Sir Gawayne*, Cott. Nero A. x, there is written in the same hand as the rest of the poem, *Hony soyt qui mal pence.*

[2] See Note on l. 108.

throughout Europe as the best of all coins, with its rich device of the monarch in his ship, with the banner of St. George flying at the mast, in the King's right hand a sword, in his left a shield with the arms of France and England.[1] But of course the noble did not bear the motto of the Garter. In making the pavilion appear lavishly covered with these English besants, the poet is evidently hinting at the extravagance associated with the Royal House. The application of the motto served as the fitting retort to those who censured all this waste of the nation's resources, the pomp and display of the Order.

(vi) The growing suspicion of the Friars as self-seekers, and resentment of the Papal policy, which found expression in the Statute of Provisors, 1351; *cp.* ll. 144–8, 460–70. The pope in question was evidently Clement VI, who died on December 6, 1352.[2]

(vii) Questions of labour, wages, prices, dress, food, which called forth the Statute of Labourers, 1351, and various sumptuary and economic enactments of about this time. All these problems are present to the mind of the writer.

(viii) The reference at the end of the poem to some period when the truce with France was broken, after the taking of Guines in 1352. There was a formal truce from September 1351 to September 1352, and again from March 1353 to August 1353. The poem well fits into the months from September 1352 to March 1353.

(ix) Allusions to questions resulting from the Black

[1] This new issue was the outcome of the various attempts to keep out of the country the base foreign coins known as the Lussheburghs. The king in 1348 forbade their circulation in the city of London, and in 1351 not only ordered the new issue of gold pieces, but introduced also the new silver coinage of groats. The issue of coinage was the royal prerogative.

[2] See Note, ll. 461–5.

Death of 1349. The reference to the greater cold that is to come (l. 252) seems to point to the rigorous winter from December 6, 1352, to March 1353. The 'great drought' (l. 312) may well refer to the drought recorded by contemporary historians. Knighton, under 1352, states as follows:—'Aestas erat nimis sicca, adeo quod, pro defectu aquae, bestiae multae perierunt in suis pasturis et marisci devenerunt quod via patuit ubi non occurrit viam patuisse.'

(x) The mention of profiteering in wheat, with the prophecy of Winner's approaching disaster by the fall of prices (ll. 368–74). This points to the year preceding Michaelmas 1353–Michaelmas 1354, when the prices of wheat were very low. In Michaelmas 1351 to Michaelmas 1352, throughout the year the prices were generally high; so too during the previous year. In the year from Michaelmas 1352–Michaelmas 1353, the price was falling, 'in part, at least, from the anticipation of an abundant harvest'; *cp.* Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices*, vol. i.

(xi) The direct reference by name in l. 317 to William de Shareshull,—'þat saide I prikkede with powere his pese to distourbe'. William de Shareshull was Justice of the King's Bench in 1333, and about the same time Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. He was one of the judges dismissed and imprisoned in 1340 on some charge of maladministration made by the king on his return from the siege of Tournai; he was restored to office in 1342, and in two years' time was promoted to the position of Chief Baron of the Exchequer. In 1350 he was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Foss, in his *Lives of the Judges*, states that at this time, 1350, he seems to have been more of a political and parliamentary, judge than a man of law, for no Chief Justice is so seldom mentioned in the Year Books'. He was Head of the Court of King's Bench from 1350 to 1357, and during that period

declared the causes of the meeting of Parliament from 1351 to 1355. 'Having pronounced a judgment against the Bishop of Ely for harbouring one of his people who had slain a man of Lady Wake's, he was excommunicated by the Pope in the last year of his judicial career for not appearing when summoned. He lived beyond 37 Edward III.'[1] It is interesting in connexion with the present poem to note that Shareshull is mentioned in *Monumenta Franciscana* as one of the nobles of the Order (*Monumenta Franciscana*, Rolls Series, p. 541). It is noteworthy, as Dr. Henry Bradley has pointed out,[2] that Shareshull, in giving his reasons for the summoning of Parliament, in January 1352, referring to the 'wastefull military nobility, and the various bodies that were growing rich at its expense', made the very charge that *Wastoure* seems to challenge in this poem:—'Pur ceo que nostre Seignour le Roi ad entenduz que la Pees de son Roialme n'est pas bien garde come estre deveroit, et que les destourbours de la Pees et meintenours des quereles et des riotes faites en pais grevont trop a son poeple, sanz ceo que due punissement est fait de eux.'[3]

The cumulative value of all this evidence clearly points to the winter of 1352–3 as the date of composition, for the poet is evidently writing concerning events which are just happening, or are fresh in his memory. His poem is in fact a topical pamphlet in alliterative verse on the social and economic problems of the hour, as vivid as present day discussions on like problems. Indeed, nothing is more

[1] Foss, *Lives of the Judges*.

Dr. Neilson attempted to refer the poem to events connected with this incident which led to Shareshull's excommunication by the Pope (cp. *Athenæum*, August 3, 24, 1901). As I pointed out, this view rested on an erroneous reading of the poem (cp. *Athenæum*, August 24, Sept. 7, 1901). The lawyers and the friars and the Pope are all on the same side, namely Winner's.

[2] *Athenæum*, April 18, 1903.

[3] ll. 317–18.

striking than the parallel between the national questions affecting England in 1352 and in 1920.

General survey of the poem. In the conventional form of a dream-poem, preceded by a prelude, the poet deals with contemporary conditions. Once on a time wandering in the west, by the bank of a stream, in the heat of the day, he rests under a hawthorn, and towards night falls asleep and dreams a dream. He is in a meadow, surrounded by hills; in the woods on either side two armies are ready for battle. He prays for the coming of his prince, who is able to prevent the impending fight; and while praying, lo, on the crest of a cliff he beholds the royal pavilion, all adorned with English besants, each one bearing the motto, 'Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme thynkes,' *i. e. Honi soit qui mal pense.* Outside the pavilion stands the royal herald, his coat quartering the arms of England and France. Within the tent he catches sight of a king, whom he at once recognizes—King Edward III, 'with berry-brown beard', clad in kirtle and mantle adorned with devices of the Garter and emblems of the royal enthusiasm for hawking—King Edward in all his comeliness and pomp, who calls forth from the dreamer an outburst of loyal admiration. At the king's side stands a knight—unmistakably the Black Prince. The King bids him go forth and command the hosts to desist from the fray. 'I serve, Lord',[1] says the prince, 'while my life shall endure.' Clad in the arms betokening peace, without helmet, with an escutcheon at back and front showing the three ostrich feathers, the young prince, with a branch in his hand, still further in token of his peaceful message, betakes himself to the field, and addresses the combatants. He reminds them that the law of the land made it punishable as a felony to ride in warlike array, encroaching the royal power. But as they know not

[1] See Notes, l. 108.

the law nor the king's prerogative, the king by royal grace will grant them his pardon. Surveying one army, he exclaims that such a motley throng he has never seen. He enumerates as follows,—folks of France, of Lorraine, of Lombardy, of Low Spain, 'wights of Westphalia' that are aye in war, many Hanseatic merchants of England and of Ireland. Lo, the banners of the Pope, the lawyers, the four orders of friars, wool-merchants, wine-merchants, and other merchant-men! And on the other side he sees brave men-at-arms, bold squires, bowmen many, ready to strike the blow, and to fight to the bitter end. He bids them withhold from their purpose, and state their case before the king. The leader from each side comes forward, greets the prince, and expresses readiness to submit to the king's decision. They say that they know the king well, for he has clad them both, and has fostered and fed them for five-and-twenty years. They journey on, and soon are received by the king, who welcomes them as 'servants both of his house',—the one leader is named Winner and the other Waster. They state their case before the king, Winner leading off, each maintaining, against the asseverations of the other, his special claims and merits. The king listens patiently; his verdict is significant. Winner is to pass forth by Paris to the Pope of Rome (that is, to Avignon), where the Cardinals will make much of him, will let him rest in silken sheets, and will feed him luxuriously; but he is to return home when the king again summons him. Waster is to dwell in Cheapside, and enjoy the dainty fare of the town, and provide for his needs by gulling rich simpletons who may chance to pass through. The king promises that Winner and Waster shall not come in one another's way. He bids Winner await him abroad when he again goes to war; he will then dub him knight, and give gifts of gold and silver to his lieges, and thence return with his knights to the Kirk of

Cologne, where the Three Kings lie entombed. With this striking reference to Cologne the manuscript abruptly breaks off.

The debate between Winner and Waster touches so many historical and economic problems that I have deemed it advisable to append a modern English rendering of the poem. This may be useful for those who wish to deal with the subject-matter. It is difficult to epitomize adequately where every line is of interest by reason of argument, allusion, or vivid description.

The significance of the poem. *Wynnere and Wastoure* is a pamphlet of the day; and its main purpose is to set forth the outstanding problems of Edward III's reign, more especially between the dates of Creçy and Poitiers.

There was abundance of wealth,—on the one hand, the wealth of the merchants and others who amassed and hoarded as much as they could get; and on the other, the wealth of the thriftless, who were lavish, reckless, and self-indulgent, spending freely, selling their family estates, neglecting their duties as landlords, letting houses and yards go to rack and ruin, maintaining idle retainers, paying no heed to the morrow, spending a ransom of silver on a dinner. These latter were not merely gay young squires, but included also brave men of arms—the military class generally. Indeed, the position of this class in face of the rise of the new merchant class—the new rich, with all the power of wealth, is an outstanding feature of the poem, and perhaps the main point at issue.

In the ranks of Winner were not only these merchants and profiteers, but also the Pope, the lawyers, and the friars.

The condition of the mass of the people, owing to the pestilence and the wars, presented many problems. Prices

were high, and in March 1351 there was loud resentment against victuallers who forestalled the market. Labour was scarce, and those who had previously been in poor plight were now able to demand high wages, though legislation attempted to fix a scale. Women previously in service now disported themselves in the newest fashions, and wore mantles of rich fur.

Poverty, however, was widespread, and many found living well-nigh impossible. The poor were in a parlous state.

The king, whose brilliant achievements still made him secure in the admiration and loyalty of his subjects, nevertheless presented to the thoughtful the twofold aspect of his character in relation to these very problems. There was his love of pomp and magnificence, involving the heaviest expenditure—he was indeed Waster *par excellence*; and there were his consequent commercialism and dubious methods for satisfying his royal needs, efforts which found expression in his fiscal policy, his Free Trade policy, so that he might well also suggest Winner *par excellence*. His dealing with the foreign bankers and his relation to the Estate of Merchants were matter of public discussion at the time when our poet wrote. In London in particular there was resentment against the policy of 1351, when full liberty of trade was granted to aliens on equal terms with natives throughout the land. To this policy our poet evidently refers when he includes on the side of Winner the various nationalities, including the representatives of the Hanseatic guilds in England and in Ireland. It must be remembered that the foreign merchants were under the special protection of the king, and that the king derived profit from his prerogative; he was accordingly so free in granting privileges, that his subjects at times had to protest.[1]

[1] Compare the repeated petitions to the king in Letter Book G of the

The riotous living of the young nobles, and perhaps of the military generally, had become so serious that, at the opening of the January parliament of 1352, Lord Chief Justice Shareshull, whom the poet evidently considers a partisan of Winner, made direct reference to 'these disturbers of the peace'.

With striking appropriateness, the poet in his dream-picture delicately submits the problem of Economy and Waste to the king himself. It is significant that the king's emissary is none other than the Black Prince. His extravagance was notorious. 'Debt was the curse of the Prince's life, from the campaign of Creçy to the day of his death.' [1]

The king has clad and fed and fostered Winner and Waster for five-and-twenty years; he knows them well, servants both of his household. One wonders whether the picture of the royal pavilion with its emblems of the Garter is but a poet's transformation of the royal palace at Windsor,[2] so closely associated with the splendours of the Order. The dreamer, a clear-headed observer of the times, though he gives abundant proof of loyalty and devotion to Edward of Windsor, yet, without bias and with seeming detachment, states in all its aspects the case of Winning and Wasting.

City of London against the Statute of 1351, by which 'merchant strangers were placed on the same footing as merchant denizens, contrary to the city's franchise', p. 15.

In *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, ed. George Unwin, University of Manchester Historical Series, 1918, there is a noteworthy chapter on the Estate of Merchants, 1336-65. The Merchants were so important that they were rapidly becoming a separate estate of the realm.

[1] R. P. Dunn-Pattison, *The Black Prince*, 1910. 'Thus it was that he whom the nation idolized for his bravery and generosity, who was regarded throughout Europe as the most humane and courteous warrior of the day, was loathed and execrated by his own tenants and peasantry' (p. 129.)

[2] One is reminded of Shakespeare's reference to the Garter and Windsor Castle in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, V. v. 59–77.

It is a pity that the concluding lines of the poem are lost, though they may not have added anything material so far as the argument is concerned.

The form of the poem. The debate-form which is used by the poet arises naturally from the theme. There may well have been some contemporary proverb in English, as there still is in German, to the effect that 'Winner must have Waster'. The poetical debate goes back to pre-Norman times; such poems as the old English colloquy between Soul and Body represent an old tradition, and our poet may well have known the dialogues between *Wine and Water*, *Summer and Winter*, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, and the like. At the same time it should be noted that the records of this period bear evidence to the growing antagonism between the military and knightly class and the powerful 'new rich' class of merchants, and to Councils for discussing how best to unite their common interests for king and country.[1]

The Banners. The poet of *Wynnere and Wastoure* delights in the picturesque. His pictorial details are most striking, and nowhere more so than in his description of the banners of the various sections of Winner's army. These banners are, in my judgment, wholly fanciful; and I am convinced that any attempt to evolve exact heraldic data from the descriptions will prove to be futile.[2] I read them as follows :—

[1] Dr. George Neilson's attempt to identify Winner and Waster with Brennius and Belinus, and the king with their mother Convenna who reconciles them, should perhaps be mentioned. No such forced analogy need be sought for the source of the plot (*Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, 1902).

[2] Mr. Neilson has attempted to identify the heraldic devices. His identification of the six galleys 'each with a brace (or bend) and two buckles' with John of the Isles and with his wife Margaret de Vaus, 'whose grandfather bore a bend with two *cinquefoils* (?), which perhaps were buckles', need not be discussed now that the galleys have become galoshes. And so likewise the other attempts at identification are by no

(i) The Pope's banner is black, with three Papal Bulls,[1] white, a cord of hemp from each with a heavy lead seal. The growing feeling against papal influence in England is no doubt shown by the reference to the Bulls with their heavy leaden seals. The black has probably reference to Pope Clement's connexion with the Benedictine Order, who were the Black Monks.

(ii) The second banner has a bend of green with three white-haired heads with coifs. This is the banner of the lawyers. The three coifed heads are very simple indications, without any heraldic connotation. The bend of green has subtle significance as suggesting the extortions of the 'green wax', to which striking allusion is found in a political poem belonging in all probability to the early years of Edward III's reign; the 'green wax'—'viridis cera', la verte cere,—was one of the most resented forms of raising revenue:—

'ȝet comeþ budeles wiþ ful muche bost:
"Greyþe me seluer to þe grene wax:
Þou art writen y my writ, þat þou wel wost" ....
Þus þe grene wax vs greueþ vnder gore,
Þat me vs honteþ ase hound deþ þe hare;'
The Song of the Husbandman; MS. Harl. 2253.[2]

In a later poem, *God speed the Plough*, the husbandmen's cry is still 'the grene wex which greveth vs sore'.

means corroborated or made even plausible when tested. On the contrary, the text seems to me to prove the very opposite of Mr. Neilson's statement, that the poem 'conveys hints of a surprising variety of strifes and concords in fields both sacred and secular, Scottish and English' (*ibid.* pp. 137–8); see also *Athenæum*, June 13, 1903, and Dr. Henry Bradley's reply, *ibid.*, June 27, 1903.

I can find no reference anywhere in the poem to Scottish matters. Indeed, the omission is noteworthy, but can be explained from the severance of the two countries in matters commercial and economic.

[1] Cp. Notes, l. 144.

[2] *cp.* Thomas Wright's *Political Songs of England*, pp. 151–2; K. Böddeker, *Harl. MS. 2253*, pp. 103–4.

The hearers of *Wynnere and Wastoure* well understood the allusion to the 'bend of green' (see notes, ll. 149, 314–18).

(iii) The banners of the Four Orders are equally fanciful.

(*a*) The banner of the Franciscans bears the strange device of six 'galags', an old form of the modern 'galosh', but used for a rather showy shoe. These 'galags', six in number, that is, three pairs, have each a brown brace or strap, with two buckles. My emendation of the manuscript, which has 'galeys', is confirmed by a statement in *Pierce Ploughman's Crede*, ll. 298–9,

> 'Fraunces bad his breþeren barfote to wenden;
> Nou han þei bucled schon, for bleynynge of her heles.'

As regards the brown strap, the reference may possibly be merely to the brown leather of the strap; but on the other hand the allusion may be to the russet, dark brown habit worn by the Franciscans, *cp. Pierce Ploughman's Crede*, 719, 'þei vsen russet also, somme of þis freres'. The buckling of the galosh is emphasized in reference to this particular form of shoe, *cp. Canterbury Tales*, F 555, 'Ne were worthy unbokelen his galoche'.

The Galache, or Galoche, or Galegge seems to have been a sort of patten fastening to the foot by cross-latchets, though later used for a clownish shoe; *cp.* Spenser's 'Galage' in the *Shepherd's Calendar* for February and September. In the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, B. XVIII. 14, 'galoches ycouped' are mentioned side by side with gold spurs as knightly adornments. The banner emphasizes this aspect of their worldliness in contradistinction to their teaching that the end of the world was near, and all flesh would soon pass. After describing their banner, the Black Prince seems to add, as a sort of aside, that they seldom fight, and that they could only have been brought into the field by the chance of

winning wealth. Some rich patron must have brought them thither.

I have little doubt that, under ordinary conditions, the banner of the Franciscans, who in France were called Cordeliers, would have shown a hempen cord, which was their characteristic, and from which they derived their French name. But the hempen cord had already been used by the poet in describing the Papal Bulls of the Pope's standard.

(*b*) The Midsummer Sun of the Dominicans' banner, that is, the Black Friars, hence 'bothe the brerdes of blake', well symbolizes Dominican pomp and pride.

(*c*) The third banner, evidently that of the Carmelite Order, the White Friars, though the manuscript is here again in error, is of white, with three boar's heads, alluding to the alleged gluttony of the Order. The author of *Pierce Ploughman's Crede* makes the Minorites apply to the Carmelites St. Paul's utterance in Phil. iii. 19, 'whose god is their belly', 'And glotony is her God', l. 92.

(*d*) The Augustine Friars have as their device black belts, alluding to their garb of black, with a leathern girdle, which they evidently used as a shaving-strop.

(iv) The other standards are those of the great merchants, especially those of wool and wine, the two great commodities on which so much of the trade of France and England at this time depended. No doubt the standard of the wool-merchants bore the wool-sacks, and that of the wine-merchants wine-tuns. The other merchant-marks are not indicated.

The Prologue and the Refrain. For students of literary history not the least important part of the poem is the striking Prologue, a sort of prelude to the vision, with its plaintive note concerning the neglect of poets by great lords.

The note is re-echoed in the long-drawn wail of later English poets. It is recalled in Marlowe's

> 'Few great lords in virtuous deeds shall joy
> But be surprised with every garish toy,'[1]

and Spenser's October Eclogue, harking back to Theocritus and Mantuan, as the gloss explains. There is nothing quite like this prologue in mediaeval English poetry; it reminds one of the conventional prelude in the old Northern *Rimur*, with its personal reflections and self-revelation. The times are bad, filial ties are weak, a western man in his old age cannot hope to see his son again, when once the lure of London holds him fast. The end of the world must be near, rough boys of no blood are wedding fair ladies, and the minstrel-poet, once welcomed, is now neglected, while the maker of jests, the mere buffoon, unable to compose three words, is honoured and made much of. Here, in what seems to be the oldest extant alliterative poem, is recorded the growing differentiation between poet and minstrel, to the detriment of the former. The introductory allusion to Brutus touches one of the great themes of alliterative poetry. The emphasis on the West well attests the juxtaposition of the West Midland and the East Midland, not only in respect of the genre and tone and spirit of the poetry of the two schools, but also, as the poet implies, by way of contrast between the simplicity of life in the less fashionable parts of England and the luxurious indulgence of the south, whereby London is clearly referred to. Indeed, the poet himself shows his intimate acquaintance with town. He knew Cheapside, the Poultry, Bread Street, &c., much in the same way as a later western man in the C-text of the Vision of *Piers Plowman* gives us glimpses of his experiences in London, where he states that he lived in Cornhill with his wife Kit and his daughter Calote.

[1] *Hero and Leander*, 1st sestiad.

It was not therefore due to their ignorance of the more refined poetry of the East Midland, with London as its centre, that these western poets chose the more provincial form of verse.

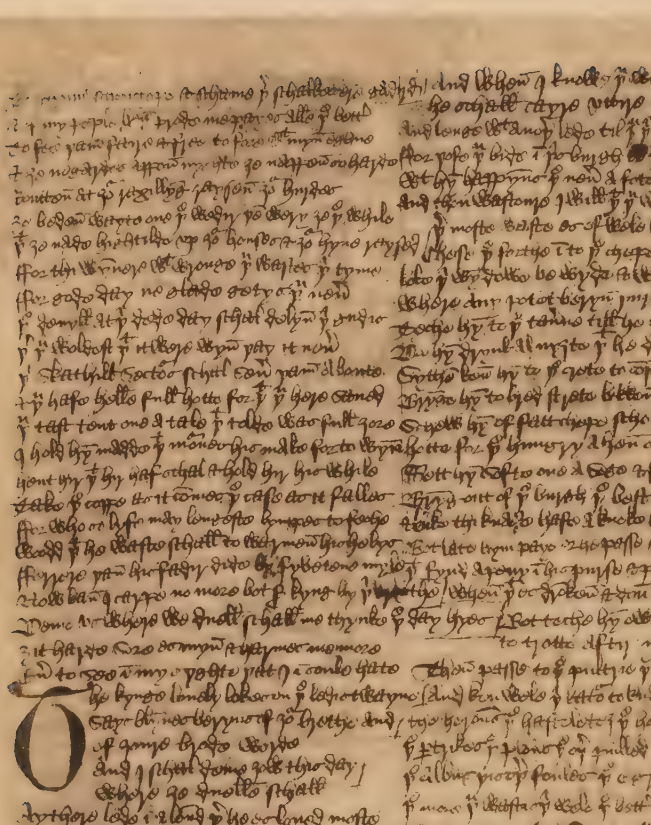
A pleasing element in what is probably the earliest extant poem of the alliterative revival is its note of old minstrelsy at the end of each Fitt, suggestive of the recitative (if not lyrical) character of this fourteenth-century archaic poetry. The refrain, 'Fill in freshly and fast, for here a Fitt ends', calls up vividly the cheery hall, the rapt audience, the thirsty minstrel. Even so the Old English 'gleeman' and the Northern 'skald' paused for refreshment, and the same sort of traditional refrain may still be heard in the romantic ballad cycles of Iceland. The writer of *Wynnere and Wastoure* may well have attempted something less austere than a 'social problem' poem, or poetical homily, however picturesque, on the text *Vanitas Vanitatum*. Perhaps in his younger days he had been a maker of mirths; certainly *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* shows its author to have been well read in Romance. If only we knew more of the work that preceded these poems, much light would be cast, not only on the poet's development, but also on the baffling problems of the rise and development of English poetry of the alliterative school. As it is, we may, I think, safely place *Wynnere and Wastoure* chronologically at the head of the relics of this poetry preserved to us.

When *Wynnere and Wastoure* was a new poem, it seems to have stirred the heart of a young Western man, and perhaps to have kindled in him the latent fire of a prophet-poet, destined to deliver a weightier message to his fellow-countrymen. Ten years later than *Wynnere and Wastoure* the first version of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* set before all classes of the realm the evil conditions of the time, pointed to the corruptions in Church and State, and denounced even greater evils than those dealt with dramatically and dis-

passionately by our poet. The old man of *Wynnere and Wastoure* inspired Langland, the prophet-poet of England. While *Wynnere and Wastoure* has come down to our time in one manuscript, incomplete and most corrupt, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, with its accretions and revisions, alone of all alliterative poems escaped the obscurity of mere local fame, and in numerous manuscripts maintained the great message unimpaired during all the centuries. *The Vision of Piers Plowman* also deals with Winner and Waster, but Winner connotes mainly Meed, that is, bribery and corruption, while Waster is something worse than a mere spendthrift. Indeed, I am inclined to suggest that the Waster of Langland traces his descent directly to the Wastours, that is, the devastators and pillagers, who by old statute (5 Edward III) are named with Roberdesmen and draw-latches, who were guilty of manslaughters, felonies, and robberies. When Winner in the present poem uses the term 'Waster' derogatorily, he is extending the sense of 'Waster', that is, the one who wastes his substance, and who is far from wishing to be associated with thieves and robbers. Our poet bids Waster become the ideal squire, look after his estates and the right welfare of his people; Langland bids his Waster desist from living on his wits and learn some craft. Whether by Langland himself or a disciple, this lesson is well emphasized in the last version of the poem:—

> 'He bad wastours go worche and wynne her sustinaunce
> Thorw som trewe trauail and no tyme spille,'
> *Piers Plowman*, C. VI. 127–8.[1]

[1] Professor T. A. Knott, in his article on the authorship of *Piers Plowman* (*Modern Philology*, Vol. 14, 1916–17), discusses some of the points at issue in respect of the use of the terms 'Winner' and 'Waster', and the bearing of the question on the controversy on the authorship of *Piers Plowman*. He gives at the outset an excellent summary of the literature of the controversy up to the date of his article.



From Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 31042

ll. 432–end

HERE BEGYNNES A TRETYS AND GOD SCHORTE REFREYTE BY-TWIXE WYNNERE AND WASTOURE

[PROLOGUE.]

[Fol. 176b] SYTHEN that Bretayne was biggede, and Bruyttus it aughte,
Thurgh the takynge of Troye with tresone with-inn,
There hathe selcouthes bene sene in seere kynges tymes,
Bot neu*er* so many as nowe by the nyn[d]e dele.
[Fol. 177a] For nowe alle es witt and wyl[l]e that we with delyn,
Wy[li] wordes and slee, and icheon wryeth othere;
††And now es no frenchipe [o]n fere bot fayntnesse of hert;
Dare neu*er* no westren wy, while this werlde lasteth,
Send his sone southewarde to see ne to here,
That he ne schall holden by-hynde when he hore [for] eld es †.
For-thi sayde was a sawe of Salomon the wyse,—
It hyeghte harde appone honde, hope I no no*þer*,—
When wawes waxen schall wilde, and walles bene doun,
And hares appon herthe-stones schall hurcle in hire fourme,
And eke boyes of [no] blode, with boste and with pryde,
Schall wedde ladyes in londe, and lede at hir † will,
Thene dredfull domesdaye it draweth neghe aftir.
Bot who-so sadly will see and the sothe telle,
Say it newely will neghe, or es neghe here.
Whylome were lordes in londe þat loued in thaire hertis
To here makers of myrthes, þat matirs couthe fynde,
†† Wyse wordes with-inn, þat wr[iten] were neu*er*
Ne redde in no romance þat eu*er* renke herde.
Bot now a childe appon chere, with-owtten chyn-wedys,

Þat neu*er* wroghte thurgh witt th[ree] wordes to-gedire,
Fro he can jangle als a jaye, and japes [can] telle,
He schall be leuede and louede and lett of a while
Wele more þan þ^e^ man that ma[kes] † hym-seluen.
Bot neu*er* þ^e^ lattere at the laste, when ledys bene knawen,
Werke witnesse will bere who wirche kane beste.

[FITT I.]

BOT I schall tell yow a tale þat me by-tyde ones,
Als I went in the weste, wandrynge myn one,
Bi a bonke of a bourne, bryghte was the sone,
Vndir a worthiliche wodde, by a wale medewe;
Fele floures gan folde ther my fote steppede.
I layde myn hede one ane hill, ane hawthorne be-syde:
The throstills full throly they threpe[d] to-gedire;
Hipped vp heghwalles fro heselis tyll othire;
Bernacles with thayre billes one barkes þay roungen;
þ^e^ jay janglede one heghe, jarmede the foles;
þ^e^ bourne full bremly rane þ^e^ bankes by-twene;
So ruyde were þ^e^ roughe stremys, and raughten so heghe,
That it was neghande nyghte or I nappe myghte,
For dyn of the depe watir, and dadillyng of fewllys.
Bot as I laye at the laste, þan lowked myn eghne,
And I was swythe in a sweuen sweped be-lyue.
[Fol. 177b] Me thoghte I was in the werlde, I ne wiste in whate ende,
One a loueliche lande þat was ylike grene,
Þat laye loken by a lawe the lengthe of a myle.
In aythere holte was ane here in hawberkes full brighte,
Harde hattes appon hedes and helmys with crestys,
Brayden owte thaire baners, bown for to mete,
Schowen owte of the schawes, in schiltrons þay felle;
And bot the lengthe of a launde thies l[e]des by-twene.
And al[s I] prayed for the pese till the prynce come,

For he was worthiere in witt thán any wy ells,
For to ridde and to rede and to rewlyn the wrothe
That aythere here appon h[ethe] had vn-till othere,
At the creste of a clyffe a caban was rerede,
Alle raylede with rede the rofe and the sydes,
With Ynglysse besantes full brighte, betyn of golde,
And ichone gayly vmby-gone with garters of inde,
And iche a gartare of golde gerede full riche.
Then were th[ies] wordes in þ^e^ webbe werped of he,
Payntted of plunket, and poyntes by-twene,
Þat were fo*ur*med full fayre appon fresche lettres,
And alle was it one sawe, appon Ynglysse tonge,
'Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme thynkes.'

NOW the kyng of this kythe, kepe hym oure Lorde!
Vpon heghe one the holt ane hathell vp stondes,
Wroghte als a wodwyse, alle in wrethyn lokkes,
With ane helme one his hede, ane hatte appon lofte,
And one heghe one þ^e^ hatte ane hat[e]full beste,
A lighte lebarde and a longe, lokande full kene,
ȝarked alle of ȝalowe golde in full ȝape wyse.
Bot that þat hillede the helme by-hynde in the nekke,
Was casten full clenly in quarter[e]s foure—
Two with flowres of Fraunce be-fore and be-hynde,
And two o[þ*er*] of Ynglonde w*ith* sex [irous] bestes,
Thre leberdes one lofte, and thre on-lowe vndir;
At iche a cornere a knoppe of full clene perle,
Tasselde of tuly silke, tuttynge out fayre.
And by þ^e^ cabane I knewe the k[nyght]e that I sec,
And thoghte to wiete, or I went, wondres ynewe.
And als I waytted with-inn I was warre sone
Of a comliche kynge crowned with golde,
Sett one a silken bynche, with septure in honde,

One of the louelyeste ledis, who-so loueth hym in hert,
That eu*er* segge vnder sonn sawe with his eghne.
This kynge was comliche clade in kirtill and mantill,
[Fol. 178a] Bery-brown as † his berde, brouderde with fewlys,
Fawkons of fyne golde, flakerande with wynges,
And ichone bare in ble, blewe als me thoghte,
A grete gartare of ynde g[erede ful riche].
Full gayly was that grete lorde girde in the myddis,
A brighte belte of ble, broudirde with fewles,
With drakes & w*ith* dukkes, daderande þam semede,
For ferdnes of fawcons fete, lesse fawked þay were.
And eu*er* I sayd to my-selfe, 'full selly me thynke
Bot if this renke to the reuere ryde vmbestou*n*de'.
The kyng biddith a beryn by hy*m* þat stondeth,
One of the ferlyeste frekes, þat faylede hym neu*er*:—
'Thynke I dubbede the knyghte w*ith* dynttis to dele!
Wende wightly thy waye my willes to kythe.
Go bidd þ*o*u ȝondere bolde batell þat one þ^{e} bent houes,
That they neu*er* neghe nerre to-gedirs;
For if thay strike one stroke, stynte þay ne thynken.'
[Y se*r*ue,] lorde,' said þ^{e} lede, 'while my life dures.'
He dothe hy*m* doun one þ^{e} bonke, & dwellys a while,
Whils he busked and bown was one his beste wyse.
He laped his legges in yren to the lawe bones,
With pysayne & with pawnce polischede full clene,
With brases of broun stele brauden full thikke,
With plates buklede at þ^{e} bakke þ^{e} body to ȝeme,
With a jupown full juste, joynede by the sydes:
A brod chechun at þ^{e} bakke; þ^{e} breste had ano*þer*;
Thre wynges in-with, wroghte in the kynde,
Vmbygon with a gold wyre. When I þat gome knewe,
What, he was ȝongeste of ȝeris, and ȝapeste of witt,
þat any wy in this werlde wiste of his age!

He brake a braunche *in* his hande, &[brawndeschet] it swythe,
Trynes one a grete trotte, & takes his waye
There bothe thies ferdes folke in the felde houes.

SAYD, 'loo, the kyng of this kyth, þer kepe hy*m* oure Lorde!
Send[es] † [bodworde] by me, als hym beste lyketh,
That no beryn be so bolde, one bothe his two eghne,
Ones to strike one stroke, n[e] stirre no † nerre
To lede rowte in his rewme, so ryall to thynke
Pertly with † power[e] his pese to disturbe.
For this es the vsage here and eu*er* schall worthe,—
[Fol. 178b] If any beryn be so bolde with banere for to ryde
With-inn þ[e] [kydde] kyngdome, bot the kynge one,
That he schall losse the londe and his lyfe aftir.
Bot sen ȝe knowe noghte this kythe ne the kynge[s] ry[t]he
He will forgiffe ȝow this gilt of his grace one.
Full wyde hafe I walked [wyes amonges,]
Bot sawe I neu*er* siche a syghte, segge[s], with myn eghne;
For here es alle þ[e] folke of Fraunce ferdede be-syde,
Of Lorreyne, of Lu*m*bardye, and of Lawe Spayne;
Wyes of Westwale, þat in were duellen;
Of Ynglonde, of Yrlonde, Estirlynges full many,
Þat are stuffede in stele, strokes to dele.
And ȝondere a banere of blake þat one þ[e] bent houes,
With thre bulles † of ble white brouden with-inn,
And iche one hase of henppe hynged a corde,
Seled with a sade lede; I say als me thynkes,—
That hede es of holy kirke, I hope he be there,
Alle ferse to the fighte with the folke þat he ledis.
Ano*þer* banere es vp-brayde with a bende of grene,
With thre hedis white-herede with howes one lofte,
Croked full craftyly, and kembid in the nekke:
Thies are ledis of this londe *þat* schold oure lawes ȝeme,

That thynken to dele this daye with dynttis full many.
I holde hym bot a fole þat fightis whils flyttynge may helpe,
When he hase founden his frende þat fayled hym neuer.

THE thirde banere one bent es of blee whitte,
With sexe gale[g]s, I see, of sable with-inn,
And iche one has a brown brase with bokel[e]s twayne.
Thies are Sayn Franceys folke, þat sayen alle schall fey worthe;
They aren so ferse and so fresche, þay feghtyn bot seldom.
I wote wele for wynnynge thay wentten fro home;
His purse weghethe full wele that wanne thaym all hedire.

THE fourte banere one the bent [es] brayde appon lofte,
With bothe the brerdes of blake, a bal[l]e in the myddes,
Reghte siche as the sone es in the someris tyde,
When † moste [es] † þe ma[z]e one Missomer Euen.
Th[ynkes] Domynyke this daye with dynttis to dele;
With many a blesenande beryn his banere es stuffede.
And sythen the pope es so priste thies prechours to helpe,
And Fraunceys with his folke es forced besyde,
And alle the ledis of the lande ledith thurgh witt,
There es no man appon molde to machen þaym agayne,
[Fol. 179a] Ne gete no grace appon grounde, vndir God hym-seluen.

AND ȝitt es the fyfte appon þe folde þe faireste of þam alle,—
A brighte banere of blee whitte with three bore-hedis;
†† Be any crafte þat I kan Carmes thaym semy[th],
For þay are the [ledes] þat louen oure Lady to serue.
If I scholde say þe sothe, it semys no nothire
Bot þat the freris with othere folke schall þe felde wynn.

THE sexte es of sendell, and so are þay alle,
Whitte als the whalles bone, who-so the sothe tellys,

With beltys of blake, bocled to-gedir,
The poyntes pared off rownde, þ^e^ pendant[s] a-waye,
And alle the lethire appon lofte þat one-lowe hengeth
Schynethe † for scharpynynge of the schauynge iren.
†† The ordire of þ^e^ Austyns, for oughte þat I wene,
For by the blussche of the belte the banere I kn[o]we!
And othere synes I see †, sett appon lofte,
Some † wittnesse of wolle, and some of wyne tounnes,
[And oþ*er*] of merchandes merke[s], so many and so thikke
That I ne wote in my witt, for alle this werlde riche,
Whatt segge vnder the sonne can the sowme rekken.
And sekere one þat other syde are sadde men of armes,
Bolde sqwyeres of blode, bow[e]men many,
þat, if thay strike one stroke, stynt þay ne thynken
Till owthir here appon hethe be hewen to dethe.

FOR-THI I bid 3ow bothe that thaym broghte hedir †
That 3e wend with me, are any wrake falle,
To oure comely kyng that this kythe owethe;
And, fro he wiete wittirly where þ^e^ wronge ristyth,
Thare nowthir wy † be wrothe to wirche als he d[*em*]eth'.
OF ayther rowte ther rode owte a renke, als me thoghte,
Knyghtis full comly one coursers attyred,
And sayden, 'S*ir* sandisman, sele the be-tyde!
Wele knowe we the kyng; he clothes vs bothe,
And hase vs fosterde and fedde this fyve and twenty wyntere.
Now fare þ*ou* by-fore, and we schall folowe aftire.'
And now are þaire brydells vp-brayde, and [thay] bown one
þaire wayes.
Thay lighten doun at þ^e^ launde, and leue[n] thaire stedis,
Kayren vp at the clyffe, and one knees fallyn.
The kynge henttis [þam] by þ^e^ handes, & hetys þam to ryse,
And sayde, 'welcome †, heres, as hyne of oure house bothen.'

The kynge waytted one wyde, and the wyne aske[de];
Beryns broghte it anone in bolles of siluere.
Me thoghte I sowpped so sadly it sowede † bothe myn eghne.
And he þat wilnes of this werke to wete any forthire,
Full freschely and faste, for here a fitt endes.

[FITT II.]

[Fol. 179b] BOT than kerpede the kynge, sayd, 'kythe what 3e hatten,
And whi the hates aren so hote 3oure hertis by-twene.
If I schall deme 3ow this day, dothe me to here.'
'Now certys, lorde,' sayde þat one, 'the sothe for to telle,
I hatt Wynnere, a wy that alle this werlde helpis,
For I l[e]des cane lere, thurgh ledyng of witt.
Thoo þat spedfully will spare, and spende not to grete,
Lyve appon littill-whattes, I lufe h[e]m the bettir;
Witt wiendes me with, and wysses me faire;
Aye when [I] gadir my gudes, than glades myn hert.
Bot this felle false thefe þat by-fore 3owe standes
Thynkes to strike or he styntt, and stroye me for e*uer*.
Alle þat I wynn thurgh witt he wastes thurgh pryde;
I gedir, I glene, and he lattys goo sone;
I pryke and I pryne, and he the purse opynes.
Why hase this cayteffe no care how men corne sellen?
His londes liggen alle ley, his lomes aren solde,
Downn bene his dowfehowses, drye bene his poles;
The deuyll wounder † the wele he weldys at home,
Bot hungere and heghe ho[r]ses and howndes full kene!
Safe a sparthe and a spere sparrede in ane hyrne,
A bronde at his bede-hede, biddes he no no*þer*
Bot a cuttede capill to cayre with to his frendes.
Then will he boste with his brande, & braundesche hy*m* ofte,
This wikkede weryed thefe, that wastoure men calles,
That, if he life may longe, this lande will he stroye.

For-thi deme vs this daye, for Drightyns loue in heuen,
To fighte furthe with oure folke to owthire fey worthe.'

'ȝEE, wynnere,' quod wastoure, 'thi wordes are hye;
Bot I schall tell the a tale that tene schall the bet*ter*.
When thou haste waltered and went and wakede alle þ^{e} nyghte,
And iche a wy in this werlde that wonnes the abowte,
And hase werpede thy wyde howses full of wolle sakkes,—
The bemys benden at the rofe, siche bakone there hynges,
Stuffed are sterlynges vndere stelen bowndes,—
What scholde worthe of that wele, if no waste come?
Some [scholde] rote, some ruste, some raton[e]s fede.
Let be thy cramynge of thi kystes, for Cristis lufe of heuen!
Late the peple and the pore hafe parte of thi siluere;
For if thou wydwhare scholde walke, and waytten the sothe,
Thou scholdeste reme for rewthe, in siche ryfe bene the pore.
For, and thou lengare thus lyfe, leue thou no no*þer*,
Thou schall be hanged in helle for that thou here spareste;
For siche a synn haste þou solde thi soule in-to helle,
[Fol. 180a] And there es eu*er* wellande woo, worlde with-owtten ende.'

'LATE be thi worde, wastoure,' quod wynnere the riche.
'Thou melleste of a mater, tho[u] madiste it thi-seluen,
With thi sturte and thy stryffe thou stroyeste vp my gudes;
In [wraxl]inge and in wakynge in wyntt[e]res nyghttis,
In owttrage, in vnthrifte, in angarte [of] pryde.
There es no wele in this werlde to wasschen thyn handes
That ne es gyffen and grounden are þ*ou* it getyn haue.
Thou ledis renkes in thy rowte wele ry[c]hely attyrede;
Some hafe girdills of golde, þat more gude coste
Than alle þ^{e} faire fre londe that ȝe by-fore haden.

ȝe folowe noghte ȝoure fadirs þat fosterde ȝow alle
A kynde herueste to cache, and cornes to wynn,
For þ^e^ colde wynt*ter* and þ^e^ kene with [cleng]and[e] frostes,
Sythen dropeles drye in the dede monethe.
And thou wolle [te] to the tauerne, by-fore þ^e^ toune-hede,
Iche beryne redy withe a bolle to blerren thyn eghne,
Hete the whatte thou haue schalte, and whatt thyn hert lykes,
Wyfe, wedowe, or wenche, þat wonnes there aboute.
Then es there bott "fille in" & "feche forthe", Florence to schewe,
"Wee-hee", and "worthe vp", wordes ynewe.
Bot when this wele es a-waye, the wyne moste be payede fore:
Than lympis ȝowe weddis to laye, or ȝoure londe selle.
For siche wikked werkes, wery the oure Lorde!
And for-thi God laughte that he louede, and leuede þat o*per*,
Iche freke one felde ogh þ^e^ ferdere be to wirche.
Teche thy men for to tille and ty[n]en thyn feldes;
Rayse vp thi rent-howses, ryme vp thi ȝerdes,
Owthere hafe as þou haste done, and hope aftir werse—
þat es firste þ^e^ faylynge of fode, and than the fire aftir,
To brene the alle at a birre, for thi bale dedis:
The more colde es to come, als me a clerke tolde.'

'ȝEE, wynnere,' quod wastoure, 'thi wordes are vayne:
With oure festes and oure fare we feden the pore;
It es plesynge to the Prynce þat paradyse wroghte;
When Cristes peple hath parte hym payes alle the better
Then here ben hodirde and hidde and happede in cofers,
That it no sonn may see thurgh seuen wynt*ter* ones;
Owthir it freres † feche, when thou fey worthes,
To payntten with thaire pelers, or pergett with thaire walles.
Thi sone and thi sektours, ichone se[w]es othere;

Maken dale aftir thi daye, for thou durste neu*er*
Mawngery ne myndale, ne neu*er* myrthe louediste.
A dale aftir thi daye dose the no mare
Þan a lighte lanterne late appone nyghte,
[Fol. 180b] When it es borne at thi bakke, beryn, be my trouthe.
Now wolde God that it were als I wisse couthe,
That thou, wynnere, thou wriche, and wanhope, thi brothir,
And eke ymbryne dayes, and euenes of sayntes,
The Frydaye and his fere one the ferrere syde,
Were drownede in the depe see there neu*er* droghte come,
And dedly synn for thayre dede were endityde with twelue;
And thies beryns one the bynches, with [biggins] one lofte
That bene knowen and kydde for clerkes of the beste,
Als gude als Arestotle, or Austyn the wyse,
That alle schent were those schalkes, and Scharshull itwiste,†
Þat saide I prikkede with powere his pese to distourbe!
For-thi, comely kynge, that oure case heris,
Late vs swythe with oure swerdes swyngen to-gedirs;
For now I se it es † sothe þat sayde es full ȝore,—
The richere of ranke wele, the rathere will drede:
The more hauande þat he hathe, the more of hert feble.'

BOT than this wrechede wynnere full wrothely he lukes,
Sayse, 'þis es spedles speche to speken thies wordes!
Loo, th[ou] w[eryed] wastoure, that wyde-whare es knawenn,
Ne es nothir kaysser, ne kynge, ne knyghte þat the folowes,
Barone, ne bachelere, ne beryn that thou loueste,
Bot foure felawes or fyve, that the fayth ow[es];
And [þou] schall dighte thaym to dyne with dayntethes so many
Þat iche a wy in this werlde may wepyn for sorowe.
The bores hede schall be broghte with [bayes] appon lofte,
Buk-tayles full brode in brothes there be-syde,
Venyson with the frumentee, and fesanttes full riche,

Baken mete ther-by one the burde sett,
Chewettes of choppede flesche, charbiande fewlis,
And iche a segge þat I see has sexe mens doke.
If this were nedles note, anothir comes aftir,—
Roste with the riche sewes, and the ryalle spyces,
Kiddes cleuen by þ^e^ rigge, quarter[e]d swannes,
Tartes of ten ynche, þat tenys myn hert
To see þ^e^ borde ou*er*-brade with blasande disches,
Als it were a rayled rode with rynges and stones.
The thirde mese to me were meruelle to rekken,
For alle es Martynmesse mete þat I with moste dele,
Noghte bot worttes with the flesche, with-owt wilde fowle,
Saue ane hene to hym that the howse owethe;
And [ȝ]e will hafe birdes bownn one a broche riche,
Barnakes and buturs and many billed snyppes,
Larkes and lyngwhittes, lapped in sogoure,
Wodcokkes and wodwales, full wellande hote,
Teeles and titmoyses, to take what [ȝowe] lykes;
[Fol. 181a] [Caudel]s of cony*n*ges, & custadis swete,
[Daryo]ls & dische-metis, þ*at* ful dere coste,
[Mawme]ne þ*at* men clepe*n*, ȝo*ur* mawes to fill,
[Twelue] mese at a merke, by-twen twa men,
[Thog]he bot brynneth for bale ȝo*ur* bowells wi*th*-in.
[Me ten]yth at ȝo*ur* trompers, þay tounen so heghe
[Þ*at* iche] a gome i*n* þe gate goully*n*g may here:
[Þa*n*] wil þay say to þa*m*-selfe, as þay same*n* ryde*n*,
Ȝe hafe no myste*r* of þ^e^ helpe of þ^e^ heuen kyng.
Þ*us* are ȝe scorned by skyll, & scathed † þe*r*aftir,
Þ*at* rechen for a repaste a rawnso*m* of silue*r*.
Bot one[s] I herd i*n* a haule of a herdma*n*s tong,—
Bette*r* were meles many þa*n* a mery nyghte.'
And he þ*at* wilnes of þ*is* werke for to wete forthe[r],
Full freschely & faste, for here a fit endes.

FITT III.

'ȝEE, wynnere,' quod wastour, 'I wote well my-seluen
What sall lympe of þe lede, within [a lite] ȝeris.
Th[en] þe pure † plente of corne þat þe peple sowes,
þat God will graunte, of his grace, to growe on þe erthe,
Ay to appaire þe pris, [þat it] passe nott to hye,
Schal make þe to waxe wod for wanhope in erthe,
To hope aftir an harde ȝere, to honge þi-seluen.
Woldeste þou hafe lordis to lyfe as laddes on fote?
Prelates als prestes þat þe parischen ȝemes?
Prowde marchandes of pris, as pedders in towne?
Late lordes lyfe als þam liste, laddes as þam falles,—
þay þe bacon & beefe, þay botours & swannes,
þay þe roughe of þe rye, þay þe rede whete,
þay þe grewell gray, & þay þe gude sewes;
& þen may þe peple hafe parte in pouert þat standes,
Sum gud morsell of mete to mend with þair chere.
If fewlis flye schold forthe, & fongen be neuer,
& wild bestis in þe wodde wone al þaire lyue,
& fisches flete in þe flode, & ichone [fr]ete oþer,
Ane henne at ane halpeny by halfe ȝeris ende,
Schold not a ladde be in londe a lorde for to serue.
þis wate þou full wele witterly þi-seluen,
Who so wele schal wyn, a wastour moste he fynde,
For if it greues one gome, it gladdes anoþer.'

'NOW,' quod wynner to wastour, 'me wondirs in hert
Of thies poure penyles men þat peloure will by,
Sadills of sendale, with sercles full riche.
Lesse [þat] ȝe wrethe ȝour wifes, þaire willes to folowe,
ȝe sellyn wodd aftir wodde in a wale tyme,
Bothe þe oke & þe assche & all þat þer growes;

þᵉ spyres & þᵉ ȝonge sprynge ȝe spare to ȝo*ur* childre*n*
& sayne God wil grant it his g*r*ace to grow at þᵉ last[e],
For to s[chadewe] ȝo*ur* sones: bot þᵉ schame es ȝo*ur* ownn.
Nedeles saue ȝe þᵉ soyle, for sell it ȝe thynken.
Ȝo*ur* forfadirs were fayne, when any frende come,
For to schake to þᵉ schawe, & schewe hy*m* þᵉ estres,
In iche holt þ*at* þay had ane hare for to fynde,
Bry*n*g to þᵉ brod[e] lande bukkes ynewe,
To lache & to late goo, to lightten þaire hertis.
Now es it sett & solde, my sorowe es þᵉ more,
Waste[d] alle wilfully, ȝo*ur* wyfes to paye.
That are had lordes i*n* londe & ladyes riche,
Now are þay nysottes of þᵉ new gett, so nysely attyred,
With [si]de slabbande sleues, sleght to þᵉ grou*n*de,
Ourlede all vmbto*ur*ne wi*th* ermyn aboute,
Þat † as harde [e]s, I hope, to handil i*n* þᵉ derne,
Als a cely symple wenche þ*at* neue*r* silke wroghte.
Bot who-so [lykes] luke † on hir †, oure lady of heuen,
How scho fled for ferd ferre out of hir kythe,
Appon ane amblande asse, wi*th*-owtte*n* more p*r*i*d*e,
Safe a barne i*n* hir barme, & a broken heltre
Þ*at* Joseph held i*n* hys hande, þ*at* hend for to ȝeme.
All-þofe scho walt al þ*is* werlde, hir w[e]des wer pore;
For to gyf ensa*m*ple of siche, for to schewe o*þer*
†To leue pompe & p*r*i*d*e, þ*at* pou*er*te [e]schewes.'

THAN þ[is] wasto*ur* wrothly [werped] vp his eghne,
& said, 'þ*o*u wy*n*nere, þ*o*u wriche, me wondirs i*n* he*r*t
Wh*at* hafe oure clothes coste þᵉ, caytef, to by,
Þ*at* þ*o*u schal birdes vp-brayd of þaire bright wedis,
Sythe*n* þ*at* we vouche safe þ*at* þᵉ siluer payen.
It lyes wele for a lede his leman to fynde,
Aftir hir faire chere to forthir hir herte.

Then will scho loue hy*m* lelely as hir lyfe one,
Make hy*m* bolde & bown w*ith* brandes to smytte,
[Fol. 181b] To schonn schenchipe & schame, *þer* schalkes ere gadird;
& if my peple ben prode, me payes alle þ^e^ bett*er*
To [s]ee þam faire & free to-fore w*ith* myn eghne;
& 3e negardes, appon nyghte, nappe † 3e † [neu*er*] so harde,
R[axill]en at 3o*ur* r[outt]y*n*g, raysen 3o*ur* hurd[i]es;
Beden[e] † 3e wayte one þ^e^ wedir, þe*n* wery 3e þ^e^ while,
Þat 3e [h]ade hightilde vp 3o*ur* houses, & 3o*ur* hyne [a]rayed.
For-thi, wy*n*nere, w*ith* wronge þ*ou* wastes þ^i^ tyme;
For gode day ne glade getys þ*ou* neu*er*.
þ^e^ deuyll at þ^i^ dede-day schal delyn þ^i^ gudis,
þ^e^ þ*ou* woldest þ*at* it w[a]re, wyn þay it neu*er*;
þ^i^ skathill sectou*r*s schal seu*er* þam aboute,
& þ*ou* hafe helle full hotte for þ*at* þ*ou* here saued.
Þ*ou* tast [no] tent one a tale þ*at* tolde was full 3ore:—
I hold hy*m* madde þ*at* mo*ur*nes his mak[ande] † to wyn:
Hent hi[t] þ*at* hi[t] haf schal, & hold hi[t] his while;
Take þ^e^ coppe as it comes, þ^e^ case as it falles;
For who-so lyfe may lengeste lympes to feche
Woodd þ*at* he waste schall, to warmen his helys,
Ferrere þan his fadir dide by fyvetene myle.
Now kan I carpe no more; bot, S*ir* Kyng, by þ^i^ trouthe,
Deme vs where we duell schall: me thynke þ^e^ day hyes.
3it harde sore es myn [herte], & harmes me more
Eu*er* to see i*n* my syghte þ*at* I i*n* soule hate.'

THE kynge louely lokes on þ^e^ ledis twayne,
Says, 'bly*n*nes, beryns, of 3o*ur* brethe and of 3oure bro[þ]e worde[s];
And I schal deme 3ow this day where 3e duelle schall,
Aythere lede i*n* a lond þ*er* he es loued moste.
Wende, wy*n*nere, þ^i^ waye ou*er* þ^e^ wale stremys,

Passe forthe by Paris to þ^e^ Pope of Rome;
þ^e^ cardynalls ken þ^e^ wele, will kepe þ^e^ ful faire,
& make þ^i^ sydes *in* silken schetys to lygge,
& fede þ^e^ & foster þ^e^ & forthir thyn hert,
As leefe to worthen wode as þ^e^ to wrethe ones.
Bot loke, lede, be þ^i^ lyfe, when I lettres sende,
þat þou hy þ^e^ to me home on horse or one fote;
And when I knowe þou will co[me], he schall cayre vttire,
And lenge with anoþer lede, til þou þ^i^ lefe [lache];
For þofe þou bide *in* þis burgh to þ^i^ be[ryinge-day],
With hym [falles] þ^e^ neuer a fote for [to strecche].
And thou, wastoure, I will þat þou won[ne þer euer]
þer moste waste es of wele & wyng[es vn]till.
Chese þ^e^ forthe in-to þ^e^ chepe, a chambre þou rere,
Loke þ^i^ wyndowe be wyde, & wayte þ^e^ aboute,
Where any ber[ande] † pote[ner] þurgh þ^e^ burgh passe;
Teche hym to þ^e^ tauerne till he tayte worthe;
Doo hym drynk al nyȝte þat he dry be at morow,
Sythen ken hym to the crete to comforth his vaynes,
Bryngе hym to Bred Strete, bikken [with] þ^i^ fynger,
Schew hym of fatt chepe scholdirs ynewe,
Hotte for þ^e^ hungry, a hen oþer twayne,
Sett hym softe one a sege, & sythen send after,
Bryng out of þ^e^ burgh þ^e^ best þou may fynde,
& luke thi knave hafe a knoke bot he þ^e^ clothe spred;
Bot late hym paye or he passe, & pik hym so clene
þat fynd a peny *in* his purse, & put owte his eghe.
When þat es dronken & don, duell þer no lenger,
Bot teche hym owt of the townn, to trotte aftir more
Then passe to þ^e^ Pultrie, þ^e^ peple þ^e^ knowes,
And ken wele þ^i^ katour to knawen þ^i^ fode,
The herons, þ^e^ hasteletez, þ^e^ henne[s] wele serue[d],
þ^e^ pertrikes, þ^e^ plouers, þ^e^ oþer pulled byrddes,

þᵉ albus, þ[ᵉ] o[sul]les, þᵉ egretes dere;
þᵉ more þᵘ wastis þⁱ wele, þᵉ bett*er* þᵉ wy*n*ner lykes.
& wayte to me, þ*o*u wy*n*nere, if þ*o*u wilt wele chese,
When I wende appon werre my wyes to lede;
For at þᵉ proude pale[y]s of Parys þᵉ riche
I thynk to do it i*n* ded, & dub þᵉ to knyghte,
& giff giftes full grete of golde & of s[ilu*er*],
To ledis of my legyance þ*at* lufen me i*n* h*er*t,
& sythe*n* kayren as I come, wi*th* knyght*is* þ*at* me foloen,
To þᵉ kirke of Colayne þ*er* þᵉ kynges ligges

* * * *

WINNER AND WASTER

MODERNIZED VERSION

HERE BEGINS A DISCOURSE AND GOOD SHORT DEBATE BETWEEN WINNER AND WASTER

[PROLOGUE.]

SINCE Britain was builded, and Brutus possessed it,
Through the taking of Troy by treason within,
Strange sights have been seen, in sundry reigns,
But ne'er so many as now by the ninth part;
For all is Wit and Will wherewith we now deal,
Wily words and sly, and each bewrays the other.
In absence is no fondness, but faintness of heart;
Dare no western wight, while the world lasteth,
Send southward his son, to see or to hear,
But he shall hold behind, when hoar is his sire.
Wherefore said was a saw of Solomon the wise,—
It hieth hard at hand—how else can I trow!—
When waves shall wax wild, and walls be down,
And hares upon hearth-stones shall hurkle in their form,
And when boys of no blood, with boast and with pride,
Shall wed ladies a-land, and lead them at will,
Then dreadful Doomsday shall draw nigh thereafter.
But who soberly will see, and the sooth will tell,
Must say 'twill come soon, or surely is here.
Whilom were lords in the land that loved in their hearts
To hear makers of mirth, who matter could find
Set in wisest words, never written before,
Nor in any romance read ever or heard;
But now a child in cheer, without chin-weeds,
Who ne'er wrought through wit three words together,
Soon as he can jangle as a jay, and japes can tell,

Shall be believed and loved and lauded a-while
Well more than the man who himself maketh song.
But at last, ne'ertheless, when all leally are known,
Work shall bear witness who worketh the best.

FITT I.

BUT I shall tell you a tale that me betid once,
As I went in the west, wand'ring alone,
Along the bank of a brook,—bright was the sun,—
'Neath a wondrous wood, by a winsome mead;
Many flowers enfolded where my foot stepped.
I laid my head on a hill, a hawthorn beside;
The throstles full throly [1] threped [2] together;
Highwales [3] halloo'd up from hazels to others;
Barnacles with their bills on barks rang out;
Loud jangled the jay, 'mid the joy of the birds;
The brook full bravely ran the banks between.
So raged the rough streams, and reached so high,
It was nearing night ere nap might I have,
For the din of the deep water and the daddering [4] of birds:
But at last, as I lay, lock'd were mine eyes;
And swiftly in a dream swept was I thence.
Methought I was in the world, wist I not where,
On a lovely lawn, all alike green,
Immurèd with mountains a mile round about.
In either holt was a host, in hawberks full bright,
Hard hats on their heads, and helmets with crests;
Unfurl'd were their banners, they busk'd them to meet;
Shoving from the shaws, into squadrons they fell;
And but the length of a lawn these liegemen between.
And as I pray'd for the peace till the prince should come,
For he was worthier in wit than any wight else,

[1] keenly. [2] debated, argued. [3] woodpeckers.
[4] chattering.

To rid[1] and to rede,[2] and to rule the wrath
That either host on the heath had to the other,
Lo, at the crest of a cliff a cabin was reared,
All arrayed with red the roof and the sides,
With English besants full bright, embossed in gold,
Girdled gaily about with garters of Ind;
With golden gear was each garter enriched;
And these words in the web worked were above,
Painted in plunket,[3] with points put between,
Formèd full fair, in fresh-hued letters;
And all was it one saw in the English tongue,—
'Hething[4] have the hathel[5] that any harm thinketh!'

Now the King of this country, keep him our Lord!
High on the woodland a warrior up-stands,
Wrought as a wild man, all in wreathed[6] locks,
With a helm on his head, a hat aloft,
And on high on the hat a hateful beast,
A light leopard and long, looking full keen,
Graven of yellow gold in goodliest wise.
But that which hid the helm behind in the neck
Was cast full cleanly in quarters four,—
Two with flowers of France, the first and the hindmost,
And eke two of England, with six angry beasts,
Three leopards a-loft, three below, quarter'd third;
At each corner a cluster of clearest pearl,
Silk tassels, tile-red, tutting[7] out fair.
And by the cabin I knew the knight that I saw,
And thought to wit, ere I went, wonders enow.
And as I watched within I was ware anon
Of a comly king crownèd with gold,

[1] to part combatants. [2] to advise. [3] light blue.
[4] scorn, 'honi'. [5] man. [6] curled.
[7] protruding.

On silken bench seated, with sceptre in hand,—
One of the loveliest lords, whoso loveth him in heart,
That subject 'neath sun ever saw with his eyes.
This king was comelily clad in kirtle and mantle,
Berry-brown as his beard, broidered with birds,
Falcons of fine gold flapping their wings,
Each bearing emblazon'd, blue as me thought,
A great garter of Ind, garnish'd full richly.
Gaily was that great lord girt in the middle,
A belt bright of hue, broidered with birds,
With drakes and with ducks, doddering that seemed,
In fear of the falcons' feet, lest fast they were seized.
And I said to myself, 'Full strange would it seem
If this lord to the river ride not betimes.'
The king biddeth a baron by him that standeth,
One foremost in fame, that failèd him never;—
'Bethink, I dubbed thee knight with dints[1] to deal.
Wend quickly thy way my will to make known!
Go, bid yon bold hosts of battle that on battlefield bide,
That they never come nigh any nearer each other;
For, strike they one stroke, to stint think they never.'
'I serve, lord,' said that liege, 'while my life shall endure.'
He doth him down on the bank, and dwelleth a time,
Till he busk'd was and bound in the bravest array.
He lapped his legs in iron to the lower bones;
With pisane[2] and with pauncer,[3] polish'd full bright;
With braces of burnish'd steel, closely braided with rings;
With plates buckled behind, the body to ward;
With a well-fitting jupon,[4] joined at the sides;
A broad scutcheon at the back; the breast had another;

[1] blows. [2] armour for the chest and neck.
[3] armour for the lower part of the body.
[4] a short doublet.

Three wings within, truly wrought after kind,
Engirt with gold wire. When that warrior I knew,
Lo, he was youngest of years and yarest of wit
That any wight in this world wist of his age.
He brake a branch in his hand, and boldly it brandish'd;
Treads at a great trot, and takes his way
Where these folk at feud on the field abide.

He said, 'Lo, the king of this country—keep him our Lord!—
Sends bidding by me, as best him it pleaseth,
That no baron be so bold, on both his two eyes,
Once to strike one stroke, or to stir at all nearer
To lead a rout in his realm, none so regal to ween
Proudly with prowess his peace to disturb.
For this the usage is here and ever shall be,—
If any baron be so bold with banner to ride
Within this kingdom renown'd, save the king himself,
He shall lose the land and his life thereafter.
But since this custom ye ken not, nor the king's right,
He will forgive you this guilt, by his grace alone.
Full wide have I walked this world up and down,
But saw I ne'er such a sight, sirs, with mine eyes;
For all the folk of France is here fared together,
Of Lorraine, of Lombardy, and of Low Spain;
Wights of Westphalia, that in warfare are aye;
Easterlings full many, of England, of Ireland,
That are stuffed in steel, strokes for to deal.

And yonder a Banner of black on the battlefield stands,
Three Bulls, white-blazon'd, embroidered within,
From each one a-hanging a hempen cord
With a solid lead seal. I say as me thinketh,—
He who head is of Holy Church here is, I trow,
All fierce for the fight with the folk that he leads.

A second Banner is upborne, with a bend of green,
With three heads white-haired, with hoods a-loft,
Curled full craftily, combed in the neck.
These are the liegemen of this land that our laws should guard;
They think to deal this day with dints full many.
I hold him a fool who fights while fliting[1] may help,
When he has found his friend that failèd him never.

The third Banner on the battlefield is of bleachèd white,
With six galags,[2] I see, of sable within,
Each with a brown strap, with buckles twain.
These are Saint Francis's folk, who say all flesh shall soon pass;
They are so fierce and so fresh; they fight but seldom.
I wot well for winning they went forth from home;
His purse weigheth full well who won them all hither.

The fourth Banner on the battlefield is borne up a-loft,
With both borders of black, a ball in the middle,
Right such as the sun is in the summer-time,
When most is the madness on Midsummer Eve.
Thinketh Dominic this day with dints to deal;
Many a brilliant Brother his banner equippeth;
And since the Pope is so prompt these Preachers to help,
And Francis with his folk such a force hath besides
And all the lieges of the land leadeth through wit,
There is no man upon mould to match them against,
To get grace on the ground, under God Himself.

And yet the fifth on the field, the fairest of all,—
A bright Banner of white, with boar-heads three,—
By any craft that I ken they Carmelites seem;

[1] arguing, wrangling. [2] shoes, galoshes.

They are the liegemen that love our Lady to serve.
Should I say the sooth, it seemeth nought else
Than that the friars with other folk the field shall win.

The sixth is of sendal, and so are they all,
White as the whale's bone, whoso the truth telleth,
With belts of black, buckled together,
The points pared round, the pendants away,
And aloft all the leather that low doth hang
Shines by the sharpening of the shaving-iron,—
The Order of the Austins, for aught that I ween,
For by a glimpse of the belt the banner I know!
And other signs see I here, set up on high,
Some witness of wool, and some of wine-tuns,
And other merchants' marks, so many, so thronged,
That in my wit I wot not, for all this world rich,
What sire 'neath the sun could the sum reckon up.

And strong on the other side are stout men of arms,
Bold squires of blood, bowmen many,
That, strike they one stroke, stop will they never
Till either host on the heath be hewn to death.

Wherefore bid I you both that brought them hither,
That ye wend with me, ere any woe befall,
To our comely king who this country owneth;
And, when he rightly hath reckon'd where resteth the wrong,
Need neither be wroth to welcome his doom.
Of each rout rode out a rider, me thought,
Knights full comely on coursers arrayed,
Said,—'Sir Bringer-of-Bidding, bliss thee betide!
Well know we the king; he clotheth us both,

And hath foster'd and fed us these five and twenty winters.
So fare thou before, we shall follow thee after.'
And now, their bridles braced up, they are bound on their way.
On the lawn they alight, and, leaving their steeds,
Come up by the cliff; on their knees fall they down.
The king takes them by the hand, tells them to rise;
'Sirs, welcome,' he said, 'servants both of our house.'
The king wended his gaze, and for the wine asketh;
Men brought it anon in bowls of silver.
Methought I supped so strongly it sear'd both mine eyes.
And he that wishes to wit of this work any further,
Fill up freshly and fast, for here a Fitt endeth.

FITT II.

BUT then spake the king: 'Declare how ye hight,
And why hatred so hot your hearts should divide.
Shall I doom you this day, do ye now let me hear.'
'Certes,' said the one, 'the sooth for to tell,
I hight Winner, a wight who all the world helpeth,
For folk from me learn, through leading of Wit;
Who with speeding will spare, who spend not too much,
Live upon little, I love them the better.
Wit with me wendeth, and wisely me teacheth.
When I gather my goods, then gladdens my heart:
But this fell false thief that before thee standeth
Thinketh to strike ere he stint, to destroy me for ever.
All that I win through Wit he wasteth through pride;
I gather, I glean, and he quickly lets go;
I pin and I pinch, and he the purse opens.
Why hath this caitiff no care how men corn sell?

Untill'd lie his lands; his tools are all sold:
Down are his dovecots, dry are his pools;
Devil-a-wonder the wealth he wieldeth at home,
But hunger and high horses and hounds full keen!
Save a halberd and a spear hid in a corner,
A blade at his bed's head, he biddeth nought else
But a cutted courser, to career to his friends:
Then will he boast with his blade, blust'ring about,
This wicked curst thief, whom Waster men call,
Who, if he live may long, this land will destroy.
Wherefore doom us this day, for the dear Lord's love,
To fight forth with our folk, till one of us falls.'

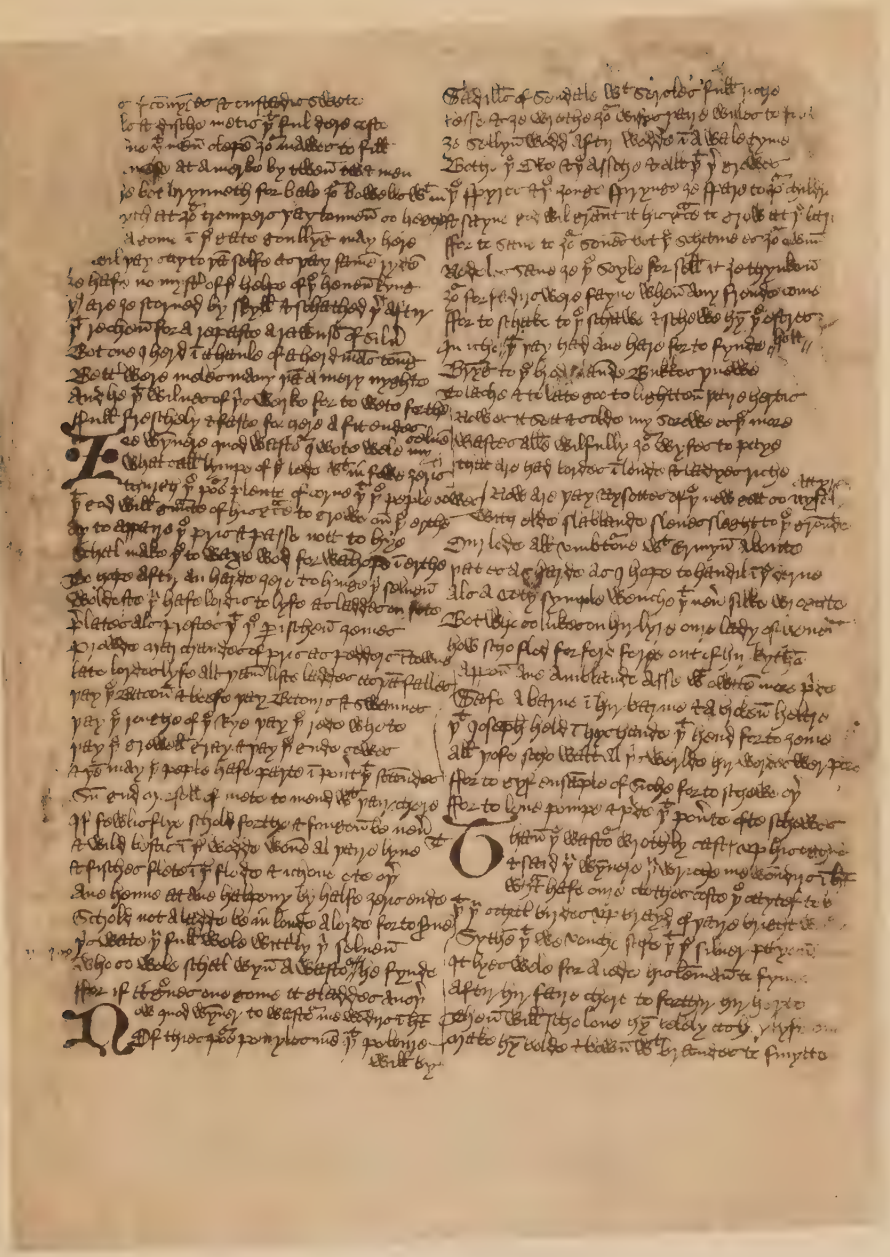
'Yea, Winner,' quoth Waster, 'thy words are big;
But I shall tell thee a tale that shall trouble thee more.
When thou hast toss'd and turn'd and travail'd all night,
And each wight in this world that with thee abides,
And hast stored thy wide houses with wool-sacks full,—
The beams bend at the roof, such bacon there hangs,
Stuffed are pounds sterling under steel bands—
What should wax of that wealth, if no waste were to come?
Some would rot, some would rust, some rats would feed.
Let be the cramming of thy coffers, for Christ's love of heaven!
Let the people and the poor have part in thy silver;
For wouldst thou walk abroad, and watch what befalleth,
Thou wouldst weep for ruth, so rife be the poor.
Wherefore, if longer thou live thus, believe thou well this,—
Thou shalt be hanged in hell for what thou here sparest.
For such a sin thou hast sold thy soul into hell,

And there is aye-welling woe, world without end.'
'Leave thy words, Waster,' quoth Winner the rich,
'Thou mouthest of a matter thou madest thyself;
With thy stir and thy strife thou destroyest my goods,
In wrestling and in waking in winter nights,
In excess, in unthrift, in arrogance of pride.
There is no wealth in this world, to wash thine hands with,
That is not given and ground ere thou it have gotten.
Thou leadest roisterers in thy rout well richly attired;
Some have girdles of gold that more goods have cost
Than all the fair free land that before was yours.
Ye follow not your fathers that foster'd you all
A kind harvest to catch and corn to win,
'Gainst the cold winter and keen, with clinging frosts,
And the dropless drought in the dead months after.
But thou betakest thee to the tavern before the town-head,
Each one ready with a bowl to blear both thine eyes,
To proffer what thou shalt have, and what thy heart pleases,
Wife, widow, or wench, that is wont there to dwell.
Then is it but 'Fill in!' and 'Fetch forth!' and Florrie appears;
'We-he!' and 'whoa-up!', words that suffice.
But when this bliss is pass'd, the bill must be paid.
Then must ye lay pledges, or your land must ye sell.
For such wicked works, worry thee God!
And as the Lord took whom He loved, and left the other,
The liefer to labour on land should each be.
Teach thy folk to till, to fence tightly thy fields;
Raise up thy rent houses, make roomy thy yards,
Or have as thou hast wrought, and hope for e'en worse—
First the failing of food, and the fire thereafter,
To burn thee all at one blast, for thy baleful deeds:
Yet greater cold is to come, as me a clerk told.'

'Yea, Winner,' quoth Waster, 'thy words are vain;
With our feasts and our farings we feed the poor;
It is pleasing to the Prince that Paradise wrought.
When Christ's people have part it pleaseth Him better
Than if it be huddled and hidden and hoarded in coffers,
That no sun may it see through seven winters once;
Or that friars should fetch it, when fallen art thou,
To paint their pillars therewith, or plaster their walls.
Thy son and executors, each sueth the other;
After thy day make they dole, for durst thou never
Make feast or mind-ale, nor ever mirth lovedst.
A dole after thy day does for thee no more
Than a lighted lantern late in the night
Borne at thy back, beau sir, by my troth!
Now would God that it were as I well could devise,
That thou Winner, thou wretch, and Wanhope,[1] thy brother,
And eke Ember-days and the Eves of Saints,
And Friday and his fellow that follows him after,
Were drowned in the deep sea where never drought should come,
And Deadly Sin for their death were indicted by twelve.
And these barons on the bench with biggins a-loft,
That are known and acclaimed as clerks the best,
As good as Aristotle or Austin the wise,
Would they all were shamed, and Shareshull among them,
Who said I prick'd with arm'd power his peace to disturb!
Wherefore, comely King, that our case dost now hear,
Let us swiftly with swords strike now together;
For I see 'tis full sooth as said was of yore,
The richer in wealth, the rather will dread,—
The more he hath to hold, the more feeble of heart.'

[1] Despair.

Then this wretched Winner wrathfully looks,
Says,—' 'Tis speedless speech to speak such words!
Lo, Waster, accursed, widely 'tis known,
Neither kaiser nor king nor knight thee doth follow,
Baron nor bachelor nor burgess thou lovest,
But four fellows or five who faith to thee owe;
And these thou dightest to dine with dainties so many
That each wight in this world may well weep for sorrow.
The boar's head shall be brought with bays aloft,
Bucktails full broad in broths therewithal,
Venison with the fruments, and pheasants full rich,
Baked meats near by, on the board well set,
Chewets of chopped flesh, and chickens grilled;
Each several guest has six men's share.
Were this not enough, another course follows,—
Roast with rich sauces and royal spice,
Kids cleft in the back, quartered swans,
Tarts of ten inches. It tortures my heart
To see the board o'er-spread with blazing dishes,
As a rood arrayed with rings and with stones.
The third mess to me were a marvel to tell,
For all is Martinmass meat that I mostly know of,
Nought but worts with flesh-meat, without wild fowl.
Save a hen unto him that the house owneth;
And ye will have basted birds broach'd on a spit,
Barnacle-geese and bitterns, and many billed snipes,
Larks and linnets, lapp'd all in sugar,
Woodcocks and woodpeckers, full warm and hot,
Teals and titmice, to take what you please;
Caudels of conies, and custards sweet,
Dariols and dishmeats, that dearly cost,
Maumeny, as men call it, your maws to fill;
Twelve dishes at a time between two men,



From Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 31042

ll. 353-431

Though your bowels for bale may burn within.
Your trumpeters teen me, their tones are so loud,
Each wight on the way their warbling may hear,
And will say to themselves, side by side as they ride,
Ye have need of no help of the heavenly King:
Rightly scorn'd are ye thus, and suffer scathe after,
That reach for a repast a ransom of silver.
But once I heard in a hall from a herdman's tongue,—
'Better were meals many than a merry night.'
And he that wishes to wit of this work any further,
Fill up freshly and fast, for here a Fitt endeth.

FITT III.

'YEA, Winner,' quoth Waster, 'I wot well myself
What shall befall the folk within a few years.
Lo, the pure plenty of corn that the people sow,
That God will grant, in His grace, to grow on the earth,
To impair the price that it pass not too high,
Shall make thee wax mad, in wild despair,
Hoping for a hard year, and so hang thyself.
Wouldst thou have lords to live as lads a-foot?
Prelates as priests that the parishes guard?
Proud merchants of price, as pedlars o' the village?
Let lords live as they list, lads as befits them,—
These the bacon and beef, these bitterns and swans,
These the rough of the rye, these the ruddy wheat,
These the gray gruel, these the good sauce;
So may the people have their part, now in poverty bestead,
Some good morsel of meat to mend their ill cheer.
If fowl freely should fly, and frighted were never,
And wild beasts in the wood wallow'd all their lives,
And fishes floated in the flood, each feeding on other,
Then a hen at a halfpenny by half a year's end,

And not a lad in the land a lord for to serve!
This surely thou seeest, forsooth, for thyself,
He who wealth would win, a waster must find,
For if it grieveth one, it gladdeneth another.'

'Now,' quoth Winner to Waster, 'I wonder in heart
At these poor penniless men, precious furs who buy,
Saddles of sendal, with circles full rich!
Lest your wives ye make wroth, their wishes to follow,
Ye sell wood after wood in a short while,
Both the oak and the ash and all that there grows;
The sprouts and the saplings ye spare for your children,
And say God will grant, in His grace, that they grow in the end
To give shade to your sons; but the shame is your own.
Needlessly save ye the soil, for to sell it ye think.
Your forefathers were fain, when a friend to them came,
To speed to the shaws, and to show him the coverts,
In each holt that they had a hare for to find,
To bring to the broad lawns bucks a many,
To catch and let go, so to lighten their hearts.
Now all is offered and sold, my sorrow is the more,
Wasted all wilfully, your wives to please.
They who before had lords and ladies rich,
Now are they freaks of the new fashion, in fancy attire,
With long trailing sleeves, that sweep to the ground,
The borders all edged with ermine about.
'Tis as hard, I trow, to handle them in the dark
As a silly simple wench who silk never work'd.
But, whoso liketh, look on her, our Lady of heaven,
How she fled for fear afar from her kith,
On an ambling ass, without any more pride,
Save a bairn in her bosom, and a broken halter

That Joseph held in his hand, that high one to guard!
Though she ruled this rich world, her robe was but poor,
To give example of such, and to show others
To leave pomp and pride that poverty scorn.'

Then this Waster wrathfully wide open'd his eyes,
Said,—'Thou Winner, thou wretch, I wonder in heart
What our clothes have cost thee, caitiff, to buy,
That thou shouldst belles upbraid for their brightsome robes,
Since we them vouchsafe, who the silver pay!
Well befits it a lover his lady to keep,
As her form is fair to further her heart.
She will love him then leally alone as her life,
Make him bold and brave-hearted with blade for to smite,
To shun scandal and shame, where soldiers are gathered.
And if my people be proud, it pleases me better
To see them fair and free before mine own eyes.
And ye niggards, at night, nap ye never so hard,
Ye start 'mid your snoring, spring up on your haunches;
Anon watch ye the weather, bewailing the while
That ye embellish'd your houses, and your household arrayed.
Wherefore, wrongfully, Winner, thou wastest thy time
For good day or glad gettest thou never.
The devil at thy death-day shall deal out thy goods;
Those thou wishest should wield them, ne'er shall them win;
Thy scatheful executors shall scatter them all,
And thou hast hell full hot for what thou here savedst.
Thou heedest not a tale that told was of yore.
I hold him mad that worries such winnings to make.
Have it who it have shall, and hold it his while!
Take the cup as it comes, the case as it falls,

For who longest may live is likely to fetch
Wood that he waste must, to warm his heels,
Further than his father did by fifteen miles.
Now I care not to carp more. But, Sir King, by thy troth,
Deem where we shall dwell: the day, methinks, hieth.
Sore heavy my heart is, and my harm is the more
Still to see in my sight whom in soul I so hate.'

The king lovingly looks on those liegemen twain,
Says, 'Cease, sirs, your brawls, and your big bold words,
And I shall doom you this day where your dwellings shall be,
To live in a land where each loved is the most.
Wend, Winner, thy way o'er the wild waves;
Pass forth by Paris to the Pope of Rome;
The cardinals ken thee well, will keep thee full fair,
And in silken sheets thy sides will let lie,
Will feed thee, and foster thee, and further thy heart,
As lief to wax mad as make thee once wroth.
But look, sir, by thy life, when letters I send,
That thou hie to me homeward on horse or a-foot,
And when I know thou wilt come, he his congé shall take,
And shall wend to another wight till thou wander forth;
For though thou bide in this burgh to thy burial day,
With him shall befall thee ne'er a foot for to walk.
And thou, Waster, I will thy wonted dwelling shall be
Where most waste is of wealth, and wings thereunto.
Choose thy way into Cheap, a chamber there rear,
See thy window be wide, and watch thence about,
Where any with purse shall pass through the burgh.
Teach him to the inn, till tight he becomes,
Make him drink all the night, that he dry be at morrow;
Then acquaint him with Crete, to comfort his veins;

Bring him to Bread Street, beckon with finger,
Show him of fat sheep shoulders enow,
Hot for the hungry, and a hen or two.
Set him soft on a seat, and send then and fetch;
Bring out of the burgh the best thou canst find,
And look thy knave have a knock, if the cloth be not spread.
But let him pay ere he pass, and pick him so clean
That devil a penny in his purse, and put out his eyes.
When that is eaten and drunk, dwell there no longer,
But teach him out of the town, to trot off for more.
Then pass to the Poultry, the people thee know,
Instruct thou thy steward to stock well thy food,
The herons, the haslets, the hens well served,
The partridges, the plovers, and other plucked birds,
The alps, and the ouzels, the egrets dear;
The more thou wasteth thy wealth, the more Winner thee loveth.
And watch for me, Winner, if wealth thou wouldst have,
When I wend in war my warriors to lead,
For at the proud Palace of Paris the rich
I mean to do in-deed, and to dub thee a knight,
And to give gifts full great, of gold and of silver,
To the leal in allegiance, who love me in heart;
And with folk that me follow then fare, as I came,
Unto the Kirk of Cologne, where the kings lie entombed . . .

NOTES AND GLOSSARY

'MS.' indicates Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 31042. Where a MS. reading differs from the text printed as an Appendix to *The Parlement of Thre Ages* (Roxburghe Club, 1897), the reading of the present edition may be considered correct, and due to fresh collation with the original. 'K' refers to the review of the 1897 volume by the late Professor Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXV. 2 (Breslau, 1898); B. = Dr. Henry Bradley (see the Notes on the respective lines); S. = K. Schumacher (*Studien über den Stabreim in der mittelenglischen Alliterationsdichtung*, 1914).

I. TEXTUAL NOTES: EMENDATIONS

	MS. Readings.	Emendation in Text.
4	nyne	nyn[d]e
5	wyles	wyl[l]e
6	Wyse	Wy[li]
7	*In* MS. *between* 21 *and* 22	*Transferred to between* 6 *and* 8
	in	[o]n
10	hore eldes	hore [for] eld es
15	of blode	of [no] blode
16	lede hir at will	lede at hir will
22	wroghte	wr[iten]
25	thies	th[ree]
26	japes telle	japes [can] telle
28	made it	ma[kes]
37	threpen	threpe[d]
54	lordes	l[e]des
55	alle	al[s I]
58	hate	h[ethe] K.
64	thre	th[ies]
73	hattfull	hat[e]full
77	quarters	quarter[e]s
79	out	o[þer]
	grym	[irous]
83	kynge	k[nyght]e
91	was	as
94	girde in the myddes	g[erede ful riche] S.
108	ȝis	[y *ser*ue]
121	caughten	[brawndeschet]
125	Send his erande	Send[es bodworde]
127	no, none	n[e], no
129	with ȝoure powers	with power[e]
132	þe kyngdome riche	þe [kydde] kyngdome S.
134	kynge ryche	kynge[s] ry[t]he
136	amonges thies wyes one	wyes amonges
137	segge	segge[s]
144	bibulles	bulles
157	galeys	gale[g]s
158	bokels	bokel[e]s
163	was	[es]

164	balke	bal[l]e B.
166	When it hase moste of þe maye	When moste [es] þe ma[z]e
167	That was	Th[ynkes]
176	*In* MS. *between* 185 *and* 187	*Transferred to between* 175 *and* 177
	semyde	semy[th]
177	ordire	[ledes] K.
183	pendant	pendant[s]
185	schynethe alle for	schynethe for
186	*In* MS. *between* 175 *and* 177	*Transferred to between* 185 *and* 187.
187	knewe	kn[o]we
188	seghe	see
189	some of wittnesse	some wittnesse
190	some, merke	[And o*þer*], merke[s]
194	bowmen	bow[e]men
197	hedir broghte	broghte hedir S.
201	wyes, doeth	wy, d[*em*]eth
208	and bown	and [thay] bown
209	leued	leue[n]
211	henttis by	henttis [þam] by
212	welcomes	welcome
213	askes	aske[de]
215	sowrede	sowede
223	lordes	l[e]des
227	when gadir	when [I] gadir
236	wounder one the	wounder the
237	howses	ho[r]ses
254	some rote, ratons	some [scholde] rote, raton[e]s
264	tho	tho[u]
266	playinge, wynttres	[wraxl]inge K., wyntt[e]res
267	angarte pryde	angarte [of] pryde
270	ryhely	ry c]hely
275	gleterand	[cleng]and[e] S.
277	wolle to	wolle [te] to S.
288	tymen	ty[n]en
302	slees	se[w]es
314	howes	[biggins]
317	it wiste	itwiste B.
321	es full sothe	es sothe
326	this wrechide	th[ou] w[eryed]
329	owthe	ow[es]
330	he	[þou]
332	plontes	[bayes]
340	quarterd	quarter[e]d
348	he	[ȝ]e
352	hym	[ȝowe]

353–60	MS. *defective*	(*see facsimile*) *
353	. . . s (*part of preceding* l *visible*)	[Caudel]s
354	. . . . ls	[Daryo]ls
355	. . . ne	[Mawme]ne
356	*Whole word torn away*	[Twelue]
357	. . . . he	[Thog]he
358	. . . . yth	[Me ten]yth
359	*Whole word torn away*	[þat iche]
360	*Whole word torn away; bottom stroke of* þ *visible*	[þan]
362	schathed	scathed
364	one	one[s]
366	forthe	forthe[r]
369	fewe	[a lite] S.
370	Thurgh	Th[en]
	po*ure*	pure
372	&	[þat it]
386	ete	[fr]ete K.
395	&	[þat]
399	MS. *defective*	
400	saue to	s[chadewe]
405	brȯd + *letter covered by blot*	brod[e]
408	wastes	waste[d] K.
411	elde	[si]de
413	þat es as harde as	þat as harde [e]s
415	who so lukes on hir lyre	who-so [lykes] luke on hir
420	wordes	w[e]des
422	For to	To
	ofte schewes	[e]schewes
423	þ^{e}, cast*is*	þ[is], [werped]
434	fee	[s]ee
435	ȝe nappen so harde	nappe ȝe [neu*er*] so harde
436	Routten, raxill*yng*, hurdes	R[axill]en, r[outt]*yng*, hurd[i]es
437	ȝe beden	Beden[e] ȝe
438	nade, raysed	[h]ade, [a]rayed
442	were	w[a]re
445	tast tent	tast [no] tent
446	make for to	mak[ande] to
447	hir . . . hir . . . hir	hi[t] . . . hi[t] . . . hi[t]
454	myn &	myn [herte] & K.

* Mr. Gilson, the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, has kindly, at my request, lifted a small portion of the paper covering up the gap in the MS., with the result that in l. 353 l shows before s; in l. 355 ne before final -ne (there may be another stroke before the first -ne); in l. 358 n before y. These new readings corroborate the readings proposed.

457	brode worde	bro[þ]e worde[s]
468–73	MS. *defective*	
468	co . . .	co[me]
469	*Whole word torn away*	[lache]
470	be . . . ; *tail of* r *visible*	be [ryinge-day]
471	happyns	[falles] S.
	Whole word torn away	[to strecche]
472	won . . .	won[ne þer eu*er*]
473	wyng .. till (*fragment of letter, possibly* n, *before* till)	wyng[es vn]till
476	potet beryn	ber[ande] pote[ner]
480	bikken þ^{i}	bikken [wi*th*] þ^{i}
492	henne	henne[s]
	serue	serue[d]
494	þis oþer foules	þ[e] o[sul]les
498	pales	pale[y]s
500	s + *letters rubbed out. Parts of* il *can be seen.*	s[iluer]

II. EXPLANATORY AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES

[Prologue]

1-4. *Cp.* the opening of *Sir Gawayne*, and the closing lines of the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*.

3. **selcouthes**: *cp.*

'Many selcouth shal be seene in all Christen landes';
'But much selcouth shal be seene within short time'.

Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies, reprinted from Waldegrave's edition, 1603; Bannatyne Club, 1833; 'Prophecy of Merlin', p. 3. *Cp.* 'ferlyes', *Sir Gawayne*, 23.

hathe: probably for 'hafe'; *cp.* 'owthe', l. 329.

4. **the nyn[d]e dele**: MS. nyne dele.

5. **Witt and Wyl[l]e**: MS. wyles; the collocation recalls 'wyt and wille' in the prophecies attributed to Thomas of Erceldoune:—

'When hares kendles oþe herston;
When Wyt & Wille werres togedere;
. . . . . .
When ryþt ant wrong ascenteþ to gedere;
When laddes weddeþ louedis;' etc.

Thomas of Erceldoune, ed. by J. A. H. Murray, E.E.T.S., 1875, p. xviii.

The whole passage, and especially ll. 10-15, is reminiscent of this and other prophecies attributed to 'Rymour, Beid, Merling' and Waldhaue; *cp. Collection of Ancient Scottish Prophecies, ibid.*

'Wyles and Wit' is found in *Piers Plowman*, C. V. 77, where A. and B. read 'Wisdom and Wit'.

6-7. **Wy[li]**: MS. wyse, the scribe's eye has probably caught line 22; line 7 is in the MS. between ll. 21, 22, but evidently belongs here.

frenchipe is used in the special sense of close kinship, the affection between kin, as 'frændi' in ON. and Scandinavian generally = kinsman, used of grandson, or son, or near relation. In the present passage the poet evidently refers to filial affection.

7. **[o]n fere**, MS. in fere; but the poet has in mind the M.E. proverb 'fer from eȝe, fer from herte', *Proverbes of Hendyng*, l. 208.

10. **[for] eld es**: MS. eldes.

13. 'And hares on the hearth-stone shall crouch in their lair';

cp. 'This is a true talking that Thomas of tells,
That the hare shal hirpil on the hard stone,
In hope of grace but grace gets she non'; *Collection, ibid.*, p. 38.

'hirpil' is a variant of 'hurkle'. Some burlesque alliterative lines in a MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, of the fifteenth century give another variant—'the hare and harthestone hurtuld to-geydur', *Reliquiae Antiquae*, i, p. 84; 'whan hares kendles oþe herston'.

14. boyes of [no] blode: MS. boyes of blode, *i. e.* lads of no blood, of poor birth; *cp.* 'when laddes weddeþ louedes', in Note on l. 5; also *cp.*

'I shal giue you a token that Thomas of tells,
When a lad with a Ladie shal goe ouer the fields,
And many faire thing weeping for dread,
For loue of there deare freindes lies looking on hilles,
That it shall be woe for to tel the teind of their sorrow';
Collection, ibid., p. 39;
'Then shal Ladies laddes wed'; *ibid.*, p. 17.

16. lede at hir will: MS. lede hir at will.

17. Thene dredfull domesdaye: *cp.* 'The dreadful day of destenie shall driue to the night', *ibid.*, p. 7.

19. *Cp. Matt.* xxiv. 33 'scitote quia prope est in januis'.

20–30. makers of myrthes, *i. e.* minstrels who composed rhymes, 'rimours'; *cp.*

'And summe murthhes to maken, as munstrals cunne,
And gete gold with here gle, giltles, I trowe;
Bote iapers and iangelers, Iudas children,
Founden hem fantasyes, and fooles hem maaden,
And habbeth wit at heor wille, to worchen ȝif hem luste.
That Poul precheth of hem, I dar not preouen heere;
Qui loquitur turpiloquium, hee is Luciferes hyne.'
Piers Plowman, A. Prologue, 33–9;

so in B., with 'synneles' for 'giltles' in some texts; in C. a noteworthy change is made:—

'And somme murthes to make, as mynstrals conneth,
That wollen neyther swynke ne swete, bote swery grete othes,
And fynde vp foule fantesyes,' etc.;

further, *cp.*

'He is worse than Iudas that ȝiueth a Iaper siluer', B. IX. 90;
'And Iaperes and Iogeloures and Iangelers of gestes', B. X. 31.

'Lordes mynstralles' are mentioned in B. xiii. 229; the whole passage as modified in C. XVI should be noted.

Concerning minstrels, etc., *cp. English Wayfaring Life in the Fourteenth Century*, J. J. Jusserand, pp. 188–218; Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*; Ritson's *Ancient Metrical Romances*, etc.

22–8. 'Set within wise words such as were never written,
Nor read in any romance that ever a man heard;
But now a child in appearance, without chin-weeds,
Who never composed through wit [three] words together,
From the time he can jangle as a jay, and japes can tell,
He shall be trusted and loved and made much of a-while,
Well more than the man who himself wrote verse'.

22. **wr[iten]**: MS. wroghte: it is to be noted that the word is repeated in l. 25.

25. **th[ree]**; MS. thies; *cp.* l. 64.

26. **japes [can] telle**: MS. japes telle.

28. **ma[kes]**: MS. made it; the scribe carelessly misread the text before him, or by reading 'it' attempted to justify the reading 'thies' for 'thrie' in l. 25.

[Fitt I]

32. **Als I went in the weste,** the conventional phrase in so many West-Midland and other poems; *cp.* 'By west of late as I dyd walke', Laing's *Early Popular Scottish Poetry*, ii, p. 74; 'As I wandrede her bi weste', *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, Part II, E.E.T.S., Original Series 117, p. 696; 'Be west, vnder a wylde wode-syde', *ibid.*, p. 658. On the forms of the Middle English 'Chansons d'Aventure', *cp. Bryn Mawr College Monographs*, vol. xii, by Helen Estabrook Sandison.

37. **threpe[d]**: MS. threpen; *cp.* 'And the throstills full throly threpen in the bankes', *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, l. 14.

38. **Hipped vp hegh-walles,** etc., *i.e.* 'the hickwalls (woodpeckers) from the lowly hazels shouted up to other birds'.

Is 'hipped' an early instance of 'to hip', from 'hip' defined by Dr. Johnson as 'an exclamation or calling to one; the same as the Latin *eho*, *heus*'? The earliest reference in *NED.* to the interjection is 1752. It may be, however, that OF. huper from 'houp!', an exclamation of similar imitative origin, used in calling dogs, underlies 'hipped'. Anyhow, from the context it is clear that it is not to the hopping of the woodpecker, but to their noise, that the poet wishes to call attention.

The word 'high-wall', or 'hickwall' (see the many forms in *NED. sub* hickwall) embodies the 'loud laughing note' of the bird. The earliest occurrence in *NED.* is assigned to the fifteenth century 'hygh-whele', and variants are 'highawe, heche-wall, hicway'. *EDD.* adduces many folk-modifications; *e.g.* 'ecall, hakel, hoodall, yaffle, yockel'. 'Yike' in Surrey and Hampshire is used for the cry of the woodpecker.

The second half of the word suggests influence of 'woodwall', where it has been suggested that wall = OE. wealh, strange, foreign; but the forms 'hickwaw', etc. seem to point to OE. wāg, ME. wagh, wall; while 'hygh-whele', and the many variants ending in -el, le, still further complicate the problem.

By some oversight, or intentionally, *NED.* does not suggest that the first part of 'hegh-wall' points to the stem of OE. higora, *m.*; higere, *f.*, woodpecker, or magpie; *cp.* OHG. hëhara, G. Häher, Gk. κίσσα (= κίκια), Sansk. kikidīvis; from an imitative root, representing the bird's cry. This is the only case, it is alleged, of the name of a singing bird common to Asia and Europe (*cp.* O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indo-germanischen Alterthumskunde*).

Riddle 24, in *The Exeter Book*, has for its subject 'Higora', which is given in Runic letters:—

'Ic eom wunderlicu wiht; wrǣsne mīne stefne;
Hwīlum beorce swā hund, hwīlum blǣte swā gāt;'

i. e. 'I am a strange creature; I change my voice;
At times I bark as a dog, at times I bleat as a goat.'

Old English Riddles; *ed.* Tupper, 1910; *ed.* A. J. Wyatt, 1912.

'The yikeing laugh of the yaffle' is quoted in *EDD.* from *Forest Titles*, 1893.

48. **lande**: probably for 'launde'.

51. **Harde hattes appon hedes and helmys with crestys**: *cp.* l. 72. The 'cap of estate', which was worn on the helmet, and bore the crest, first appears in the reign of Edward III; *cp.* Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, vol. i, p. 1.

54. l[e]des: MS. lordes.

55. **And al[s I] prayed**: MS. And alle prayed; but the rival hosts were most anxious to get at one another, and were not likely to pray for peace till the prince came. The line is perplexing in the MS., and I propose the reading in the text. The dreamer, not the combatants, prayed for the coming of the king, and as he waited, lo! the royal pavilion (clearly that of Edward III) was reared at the crest of a cliff.

Probably some previous scribe had omitted 'I' (as in l. 227), and 'alle' was evolved from 'als'.

58. **appon h[ethe]**: MS. hate; *cp.* l. 196.

60. *Cp.* 'ryol red cloþe', *Sir Gawayne*, l. 2036.

61. **Ynglysse besantes**: evidently a reference to Edward III's gold noble, first coined in 1344.

64. th[ies]: MS. thre; *cp.* l. 25, where MS. has 'thies', evidently for 'thrie' or 'thre'.

68. **Hethyng haue the hathell þat any harme thynkes**: nowhere else is found an early English version of 'Honi soit qui mal y pense', or perhaps the motto without 'y', as found written at the end of the MS. of *Sir Gawayne*.

69. This seems to be a loyal exclamation on the part of the poet, *cp.* l. 124. On the other hand, I hazard the suggestion that possibly the cry 'God save the king of this land' comes from the hosts, and that 'vpon heghe one the holt' may mean 're-echoed in the holt' (though 'in' rather than 'one' would then be required). If so, it is in answer to this cry that 'ane hathell vp stondes'. A semicolon would be required after 'holt' if this is the correct interpretation of the lines.

'Now' introduces the new episode, and the expectation of the dreamer, when he recognized the Royal Pavilion, that the Prince for whom he was praying would soon be visible.

The difficulty is the word 'holt', which ordinarily means 'wood', as in l. 50. Here, if used in the sense of 'rough hill' (as in later English and also in Icelandic), it is noteworthy, and possibly due to a scribal substitution for 'hulle', hill, *i. e.* the cliff mentioned in l. 59.

70-1. Among the earliest records of the Order of the Garter, 1347-9, occurs the following:—

'Et ad faciendum tria hernesia pro R. quorum duo de velvetto alb. operata cum *Garteriis* de blu et diasprez per totam campedinem cum *Wodehouses*', etc.; Beltz, in his *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 380, prints the passage, and glosses the last word 'Qy. Woodwalls, or Wittwalls, birds of the species of Woodpeckers?' 'Wodehouse' is heraldically a satyr or savage man, and is a corruption of 'wodwyse' or 'wode-wose', OE. wudu-wāsa. Is the man here described the Garter Herald? It would appear from the passage quoted that the king's Garter Robe was embroidered with 'woodhouses'. Members of the many families bearing the name, and other families also, had no doubt savage men as part of their coats of arms; *cp.* 'rouch wodwyss wyld', as supporters of the Douglas shields, *Buke of the Howlat*, l. 616. Robert de Wodehouse, the treasurer of the Exchequer, who died about 1345, was a well-known member of a Norfolk family; the Earl of Kimberley is descended from his eldest brother, Sir William Wodehouse.

72. **ane hatte appon lofte**: this is first found on the great seal made for Edward III after the Peace of Brétigny in 1340. It is illustrated, together with the Plantagenet shield, in the *Armorial de Gueldre* (J. Woodward, *Treatise on Heraldry*, vol. ii, plate xi).

73. **hat[e]full**: MS. hattfull.

76. **that þat hillede the helme**: from the back of the cap there hung a kind of floating veil, protecting the neck; this is the origin of the heraldic mantling.

77. **quarter[e]s**: MS. quarters.

78-80. 'Two quarters had flowers of France', the lilies, namely, the first quarter and the last; and the two other quarters had six fierce beasts of England,—three leopards in the upper half (in the second quarter), and three in the lower position beneath (*i. e.* in the third quarter).

Fleurs de lys, the device of the Royal Shield of France—'*France Ancient*'—were quartered with the lions of England, in 1337, when Edward III claimed the crown of France. This shield, semée of *fleurs de lys*, *i. e.* with fleurs de lys scattered freely, must be distinguished from the later shield of '*France Modern*'—six *fleurs de lys*, quartered by Henry IV on his shield about 1405.

The Lions of the Royal Shield of England were described heraldically as 'leopards', '*lions leopardés*', *i. e.* lions passant gardant. 'A lion walking and looking about him, the early heralds held to be acting the part of a leopard; consequently when he was in any such attitude, they blazoned him as "a leopard"' (*English Heraldry*, C. Boutell, p. 84). Hence, the poet mentions 'flowers of France', without specifying the number, but gives the actual number of leopards, three in each of the second and third quarters. In the heraldic *Le Siege de Karlaverok*, giving the accurate blazon of above one hundred Knights or Bannerets of the reign of Edward I, the Royal Banner is described,—

'En sa baniere trois luparte
De or fin estoint mis en rouge
Courant felloun fier et harouge,'—

i. e. 'in his banner were three leopards courant of fine gold, set on red, fierce, haughty, and cruel', etc. (p. 22).

Cp. 'Both þe lely and þe lipard · suld geder on a grene,'
Minot's *Poems*, xi. 3 (*ed.* J. Hall).

78. **be-fore and be-hynde**: *i. e.* in the first quarter and the last. *Cp.* OF. devant, used heraldically for the first quarter; *e. g.*

'Se ot devant un blanche estoile',—

which had a white star in the first quarter (not 'in the upper part', as the editor renders it). *Le Siege de Karlaverok*, *ed.* Nicholas Harris Nicolas, 1828, p. 26.

79. **o[þer], [irous]**: MS. out, grym.

83. **k[nyght]e**: MS. kynge. 'And by the cabin I identified the knight I saw'; *cp.* l. 187.

88. **One of the louelyeste ledis**, etc. *Cp.* 'His body was comely, and his face like the face of a god, wherefrom so marvellous grace shone forth that whosoever openly considered his countenance, or dreamed thereof by night, conceived a sure and certain hope of pleasant solace and good fortune that day;' from the *Continuation to 1380 of Adam of Murimuth* (?1275–1347), trans. by Thomas Hog (*English Historical Society*), 1846, p. 226.

90. **kirtill and mantill**: evidently the surcoat, or tunic, and mantle of the Garter. Beltz quotes for the year 1351, from the fragment of an account of payments, 'robes for the king, consisting of four garments of red velvet, against the feast of St. George, namely, two surcoats (*supertunicae*), one vest (*tunica*) with hood, and one cloak, embroidered over with clouds of silver [one of the royal badges] and eagles of pearl and gold, viz. under every alternate cloud an eagle of pearl, and under each of the other clouds a golden eagle; every eagle having in his beak a garter, with the motto "*Hony*", etc. embroidered thereon:' etc. (*Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 3, 4).

91. **Bery-brown as† his berde**: MS. was. According to the poet, l. 206, he was now about forty.

In one of the Cottonian MSS., Nero D. VI, reproduced in Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England*, no. LIII., is a fine illumination depicting Edward III in 1357; the 'bery-brown' beard is noteworthy.

Evidently both the royal kirtle and mantle were made of 'brown bleaunt'; *cp.*

'A mere mantyle . . .
Of a broun bleeaunt enbrauded ful ryche,'
Gaw. & Gr. Knt. 879.

'In o robe Tristrem was boun . . .
Was of a blihand broun;'
Sir Trist. I. xxxviii.

94. **g[erede ful riche]**: MS. girde in the myddes.

100. The king's fondness for hawking, etc., was proverbial. Froissart, speaking of the campaign of 1360, says: 'Et avec ce le roi avoit bien pour lui trente fauconniers à cheval chargés d'oiseaux et bien soixante couples de forts chiens et autant de lévriers, dont il alloit chacun jour ou en chasse ou en rivière, ainsi qu'il lui plaisoit.' (Bk. I, ch. cdxli, *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*; *cp.* Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 1831, Bk. I, ch. ii.)

101. **a beryn**, *i. e.* the Black Prince.

103. **knyghte**: perhaps the poet wrote 'duk', as the alliteration requires; *cp.* '& haf dy3t 3onder dere a duk to haue worþed', *Sir Gawayne*, l. 678.

108. **'Y serue, lorde'**, etc.; MS. 3is lorde'. The second half of the line, namely, 'while my life shall endure', presupposes some such phrase as 'I am your servant'; *cp.*

> 'Merci, madame, 3oure mon schal I worthe,
> To worchen 3oure wille, while my lyf dureth';
> *Piers Plowman*, A. XI. 100.

There can be little doubt that '3is' is a scribal substitution for 'I *ser*ue', the poet's Englishing of 'Ich dene', the Black Prince's motto (now 'Ich dien'; see my letters on the subject in the *Times Literary Supplement*, August 1, 8, and 22, 1918). This would rightly lead up to the reference to the Ostrich Feathers, and would be characteristic of the poet who had already given an English rendering of 'Honi soit', the motto of the Garter.

In view of the many scribal changes in the text, the original reading of the line may well have been—

> 'I *ser*ue, lorde', said þ^e^ lede, 'while my life dures';

the movement of the first half of this line may be compared with that of l. 221.

'Y *ser*ue', contracted (for the northern form *ser* = serue), would readily suggest 'Yis'.

110. It is noteworthy that, as the errand is one of peace, he goes without helmet and shield; but, unlike the Green Knight, he wears a 'pisan' and a 'pawnce' and 'plates'; *cp.*

> 'Wheþer hade he no helme ne hawbergh nauþer,
> Ne no pysan, ne no plate þat pented to armes,
> Ne no schafte, ne no schelde, to schwue ne to smyte,
> But in his on honde', etc.
> *Gaw. & Gr. Kn.*, ll. 203–6; see, also, note on l. 121.

115. **jupown**: this was a tunic worn either under the armour as in Chaucer, *Prol.* 75, or above, as here and in the Allit. *Morte Arthure*, l. 905. In the latter case it took the place of the cote-armure, and was embroidered with armorial bearings. On the Black Prince's effigy at Canterbury, his jupon is embroidered with the arms of the Plantagenets, as described in l. 76, etc.; so also is the jupon itself which hangs above the tomb; *cp.* Planché's *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, vol. i, p. 317, for a reproduction of this, and also an illustration from Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 12228, of a king putting on his jupon, which

opens down both sides. The Black Prince's was laced at the back.

116. **A brod chechun**, *i. e.* a broad scutcheon, or escutcheon; for the various spellings *cp. NED. sub* escutcheon and scutcheon. The present form is not recorded, but *cp.* skecons, *Coventry Leet Book*, p. 200; squechonis, *Ralf Coilȝear*, 632. In view of the present passage, there is special point in the following quotation in *NED.* under the year 1594, from the Buccleugh MSS.: 'He is upon a journey, messenger-like, with a skuchin on his breast.'

117–18. This is probably the earliest reference in English to the Prince of Wales's feathers. Within the escutcheon were 'three wings' (*i. e.* full and large feathers), wrought naturally.

It is noteworthy that the Ostrich Feathers are here used as a token of peace. In his will the Black Prince specially referred, 'pur la paix', to 'nos bages des plumes d'ostruce'.

wynges; it is noteworthy that OE. feþera, pl. of 'feþer', was used in the sense of wings, though the more common form for 'wing' was 'fiþere'. So, in ME., possibly by the coalescing of the two words, 'feathers' = wings. Hence, perhaps, the use in the present passage of 'wings' for 'feathers'.

wroghte in the kynde: the poet wishes to imply that no one would have doubted that they were ostrich feathers.

Vmbygon: *cp.* 'Her [h]ere [h]eke al hyr vmbe-gon', *Perle*, l. 210, where, as in the present passage, the past participle has almost the adverbial force of 'all about, all around'; 'engirt with a gold wire' might perhaps give the force of the words.

119. 'When I saw him, lo, he was youngest of years', etc. The exclamatory use of 'what' gives a vivid effect to the statement. The Prince was about twenty-one at the date of the action of the poem.

121. **He brake a braunche in his hand**; *cp.*

> 'ȝe may be seker bi þis braunch þat I bere here,
> Þat I passe as in pes, & no plyȝt seche;
> For had I founded in fere, in feȝtyng wyse,
> I haue a hauberghe at home, & a helme boþe,
> A schelde, & a scharp spere, schinande bryȝt,
> And oþer weppenes to welde, I wene wel als,
> But for I wolde no were, my wedeȝ ar softer';
> *Gaw. & Gr. Kn.*, ll. 265–71.

The 'branch' as the symbol of peace was derived from the 'olive-branch' (*Genesis* viii. 11); *cp.*

> 'Twelue messegers til hym were sent . . . wyþ olyue braunches in handes born'. Robert Brunne, *Chron. Wace* (Rolls), 11446. 'The Green Knight', in *Gaw. & Gr. Kn.*,
>
> 'in his on honde he hade a holyn bobbe (*i. e.* a bunch of holly),
> þat is grattest in grene, when greueȝ ar bare'. ll. 206–7.

[brawndeschet]: MS. caughten; *cp.* 'And brawndeschet that brighte swerde', *Parl. of Thre Ages*, l. 504.

125. **Send[es]** [bodworde]: MS. Send his erande; *cp.* 'And than bodworde vnto [Balame] full boldly he sendys', *Parl. of Thre Ages*,

l. 558. Kölbing suggests 'sonde' for 'erande', but this will not satisfy the requirements of the alliteration.

by: this takes the alliteration of the line, *cp.* l. 101; and note, also, that 'with' is treated similarly in ll. 198 and 346.

127. **n[e], no**: MS. no, none.

128. **so ryall**: parallel to 'so bolde'. Perhaps 'none' or 'ne' has been omitted by the scribe before 'so'.

129. **with power[e]**: MS. with ȝoure powers.

130. **For this es the vsage**: evidently a reference to the *Statute of Treasons*, 1352; it is there stated that 'if percase any man of this realm ride armed [covertly] or secretly with men of arms against any other . . . it shall be judged felony or trespass, according to the Laws of the Land of old time used, and according as the case requireth' (*Statutes of the Realm*, I, p. 320).

132. **[kyd]**: MS. þe kyngdome riche.

133. **the londe**. The loss of the land seems to imply outlawry, and not merely the loss of lands.

134. **Bot sen ȝe knowe noghte this kythe ne the kynge[s] ry[t]he**: MS. kynge ryche. The scribe, evidently thinking that 'kythe' here is the word used in the preceding phrase, 'the kyng of this kyth', l. 124, has endeavoured to make sense of the line by reading 'kynge ryche' instead of 'kynges rythe'. 'Kyth' in the sense of 'rule, procedure', is not uncommon in Middle English. *Cp. e.g.* '& knowest alle þe kuþþes þat to kourt langes', *William of Palerne*, 332. The spelling 'ryth' for 'ryȝt' is found in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; *cp. e.g.* 'þat rith wolde þei hadde', *Richard the Redeless*, II. 137. 'Kynge[s] ry[t]he' = the king's right or prerogative; *cp.* ON. konungsrēttr, king's right.

136. **wyes amonges**: MS. amonges thies wyes one. A scribe has caught 'one' from the previous line, and further, the force of the whole line has been misunderstood.

137. **segge[s]**: MS. segge.

139. **Of Lorreyne, of Lumbardye**: *cp.* 'In Lorayne or Lumberdye', Allit. *Morte Arthure*, l. 350; so, l. 429.

140. **Wyes of Westwale**: *cp.* 'Wyes of the Westfale', *ibid.*, l. 2826; 'The wyese of the Westuale', l. 2656; 'Alle Westwale of werre he wynnys', l. 621.

141. **Of Ynglonde, of Yrlonde, Estirlynges full many**: perhaps the earliest instance of Easter-lings, *i. e.* Hanseatic merchants, in English. According to *NED.*, 'the word seems not to be found as English before the sixteenth century'; but this is not so; it occurs in *Libel of English Policie*, c. 1425 (T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, vol. ii, p. 169). The line means 'Hansemen many of England and Ireland', *i. e.* many German merchants in England and Ireland. The Hanseatic merchants held a strong position in Ireland.

All the foreign merchants have evidently come to England for the purpose of 'winning', and the reference gains point in view of the generous and easy policy of Edward III towards merchant-strangers.

144-8. **thre bulles**: MS. bibulles. The scribe has evidently improved on the poet, whose device for the Pope was obvious. Perhaps the scribal change was deliberate, in order to suggest theological learning. The cord attached to each bull, 'sealed with a heavy seal', further describes the characteristic device.

As regards the Pope referred to, *vide* Preface.

149. The lawyers' banner has 'a bend of green'; *cp.*

'Vche burne of þe broþer-hede a bauderyk schulde haue,
A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bryȝt grene.'
Gawayne, l. 2516.

Evidently Scharshull and the other 'beryns one the bynches', *cp.* ll. 314-18, are in the poet's mind, as representing the lawyers. The device of 'thre hedis white-herede with howes one lofte' suggests the 'serjeaunts atte lawe', with their coifs. But, while in *Gawayne* the 'bend of green' is associated with some great order, here the reference is to that oppressive source of casual revenue (profitable to the lawyers as a class) known as 'the Green Wax' (see *Preface*); *cp.* C. Vernon, *Considerations for regulating the Exchequer* (1642); T. Madox, *History of the Exchequer* (1769); F. S. Thomas, *Ancient Exchequer*, 1848, Hubert Hall, *The Antiquities and Curiosities of the Exchequer* (1898).

154. **flyttynge**, *i.e.* 'flyting', legal argument, discussion, without reference to the ordinary sense of vituperation.

155. **his frende**, *i.e.* Waster, the lawyers' best friend.

157. **With sexe gale[g]s**: MS. galeys. The scribe, puzzled by the rare word 'galegs', *i.e.* galoshes or shoes, has transformed the Franciscans' device into galleys; see Preface.

158. **iche one has a brown brase**: each galosh had a brown strap.

159. **þat sayen alle schall fey worthe**, who say all men are about to die, *i.e.* that the end of the world is near.

161-2. The poet seems to suggest that these Franciscans were mere mercenaries; the Genoese mercenaries were notorious.

163. **[es]**: MS. was.

164. **With bothe the brerdes of blake**, *i.e.* with the two border-lines of black, the border running round the banner, and the border of the scutcheon placed within the banner.

bal[l]e: MS. balke. The 'll' in the MS. from which the scribe copied had probably a mark linking the two letters, easily read as 'lk', as in many instances (*cp.* Dr. Henry Bradley, *Athenæum*, May 23, 1903).

166. **When moste [es] þ^e^ ma[z]e**: MS. When it hase moste of þ^e^ maye.

'Ma[z]e' was probably so written that the long 'z' was taken as 'y', and then the line was emended to make some sort of sense, resulting in what seems to be nonsense.

þ^e^ maze = midsummer madness, *i.e.* when midsummer madness is greatest, at Midsummer Eve.

167. **Th[ynkes]**: MS. that was; *cp.* 153.

The arms suggest Dominican pride, and I very much doubt whether there is any reference, as has been suggested, to any specific arms

borne by the Order. The author of *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede* has much to say concerning the ostentation of these 'prechoures' (*cp. P. P. Crede*, ll. 153–267; 352–81).

169. *Cp.* 'we ben proued þe priis of popes at Rome', *ibid.*, l. 256.

174–7. There seems to be some confusion here, for the Carmelites and not the Augustines were 'Maries men'; *cp.*

> 'þei makeþ hem Maries men, (so þei men tellen),
> And lieþ on our Ladie many a long tale', etc.
> *ibid.*, ll. 48–97.
>
> '[We Karmes] lyven by our Lady and lelly hir seruen,
> In clene comun life kepen vs out of synne;
> Nowt proude as Prechours beþ', etc.
> *ibid.*, ll. 384–6.

The Augustines, or Austin Friars, wore black, with a leathern girdle; the Carmelites were called 'the White Friars', from their white dress over a dark brown tunic. The 'belts of black' on the banner of the Carmelites, l. 182, ought to have been on the banner of the Augustines (*cp. Athenæum*, May 23, 1903), but I cannot believe that the poet made so serious a blunder as to confuse the two Orders, and in view of the extreme carelessness of the present MS. I suggest that ll. 176 and 186 have been transposed. I have restored them to their respective places.

175. **three bore-hedis**: a common heraldic sign; *cp. Libeaus Desconus*, l. 1657, *ed.* M. Kaluza.

177. [ledes]: MS. ordıre.

182. **With beltys of blake**, etc. This is the device on the standard; these friars, who are evidently very careful about their personal appearance, use their girdles as strops.

183. **pendant[s]**: MS. pendant.

The points of the belts were rounded off, there were no pendants,

> 'And all the leather that hangs down, emblazoned on the banner,
> Shines by the sharpening of the shaving-iron, *i. e.* the razor.'

185. **schynethe for**: MS. schynethe alle for.

187. **kn[o]we**: MS. knewe.

188. **see**: MS. seghe.

189–90. **Some† witnesse of wolle, and some of wyne-tounnes, [&] o[þer] merchandes merke[s] so many and so thikke**, etc.

MS. 'Some of witnesse . . .
Some of merchandes merke,' etc.

The poet means to say, 'Some (of the emblems) tell of wool, and some of wine-tuns: and here are other merchant-marks, so many and so densely crowded, that I know not, etc.' The wool-merchants were no doubt represented by wool-packs (*cp. Costume on Brasses*, Herbert Druitt, pp. 201, 204, etc., and the wine-merchants by wine-casks (*ibid.*, p. 203).

A scribe has evidently misunderstood 'witnesse' as a noun, and misread 'oþer' in the second line as 'of'; the sense was spoilt by the repetition of 'some', as the wool-packs and wine-casks were

merchant signs, and the speaker wished to refer to 'other merchant-signs'.

For 'merchants' marks' *cp.* 'merkes of marchauntes', *Piers Ploughman's Crede*, l. 177.

On the woollen industry, and its all-important place in the economic policy of Edward III's reign, *cp. The Economic History of England*, Chapter IX, by E. Lipson, 1915. On the wine trade there is a noteworthy chapter in Professor Unwin's *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, dealing more particularly with the wine trade with Gascony.

In Gower's *Mirour de l'omme*, 'Wool' is apostrophized as 'the goddess of merchants',—'O beautiful, O white, O delightful one, the love of you stings and binds so that the hearts who make merchandise of you are not able to disengage themselves from you,' etc. (Translated by A. R. Benham, *English Literature, A Source Book*, 1916, p. 251.)

Waster, in l. 250, makes Winner rich in wool.

193. After his long enumeration of the forces on Winner's side, the poet deals in a very summary fashion with those on the other side, Waster's followers.

194. **bow[e]men**: MS. bowmen.

197. **broghte hedir**, MS. hedir broghte.

200. **fro**: (?) from the moment when, as soon as; one would expect 'to', *i. e.* until.

201. **wye, d[*em*]eth**: MS. wyes, doeth.

Thare = it behoves; it behoves (*i. e.* it avails) neither wight to be wroth, to act as he purposes.

206. **this fyve and twenty wyntere**: *vide* Preface.

208. **and [thay] bown**: MS. and bown.

209. **leue[n]**: MS. leued.

211. **henttis [þam] by**: MS. henttis by.

212. **welcome, heres**: MS. welcomes heres; *cp.* 'Welcom̄, wye', *Wars of Alex.*, l. 2302. 'Here' = master, lord, man; *cp.*

> '(Happye) is þe here in no hate lengis,
> Ne letis bele in his brest wherof bale rises'.
> Alliterative *Troy Book*, l. 1432;
>
> '"Here at hond is þat hery", the hend to hym saide:
> þen he gird to þe gome with a grym swerde.'
> *ibid.*, l. 13573.

213. **aske[de]**: MS. askes.

215. **it sowede† bothe myn eghne**: MS. sowrede. The scribe did not know the obscure word 'to sow', usually with 'sore', *cp.*

> 'And when he sotted my syghte, than sowed myn hert,'
> *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, l. 286;
>
> 'When he sailed in þe Swin it sowed him sare,' *Minot*, v. 12;
>
> 'Soure suld him sowe, bot he þe cite ȝeld'
> (B. saire suld he sike, bot he þe cite ȝelde),
> *Wars of Alex.*, l. 2313.

217. **full**: *cp.* l. 367. This first occurrence of the refrain may give the correct form, though 'fille in', l. 281, suggests 'fille' as possibly the poet's word also here; the scribe may have missed the

meaning of 'fille', and written 'full' as an intensive adverb. On the other hand, 'fulle' is a variant of 'fille'; *cp.*

'In couenaunt that Clement schulde the cuppe fulle',
Piers Plowman, A. V. 184 (B. fille, C. fylle).

[Fitt II.]

223. l[e]des: MS. lordes; *cp.* l. 54, and 'wordes' for wedes, l. 420.

225. littill-whattes: the ordinary phrase in Middle English is either (1) 'a littil what', *i. e.* a small portion or quantity, or (2) 'littles what', or 'what littles', little or nothing, a trifling quantity; the latter is rather earlier in date than the former. Possibly our poet wrote 'littles what'.

h[e]m: MS. hym.

227. when [I] gadir: MS. when gadir.

232. I pryke and I pryne, *i. e.* I pin and I sew up.

233. *Cp.* ll. 368-74.

236. The deuyll wounder† the wele, MS. 'the deuyll wounder one the wele'. Evidently the scribe did not understand the idiom, and made 'wonder' a verb. 'The deuyll wounder' = nowise wondrous (*cp.* l. 487) (with adjectival use of 'wonder'); so that 'the deuyll wounder' = 'the deuyll a wounder' = 'devil a wonder'!

237. Bot hungere: *cp.*

'"Nou be the peril of my soule", quath Pers the plouh-mon,
"I schal a-peiren ow alle for oure proude wordes!"
And hoped aftur Hunger tho, that herde him atte furste:
"A-wrek me on this wastors', quod Pers, "that this world schendeth!"
Hongur in haste hente Wastor bi the mawe,' etc.
Piers Plowman, A. vii. 157.

heghe ho[r]ses: MS. howses; the phrase is perhaps a reminiscence of the *Debate of the Body and the Soul*; *cp.*

'Thow that were woned to ride heyȝe (printed 'heyre') on horse in and out', p. 334, l. 9.
Poems of Walter Mapes, ed. T. Wright, *Camden Society*, 1841.

The description of Waster should be compared with that of Youth in *the Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ll. 109-93, and especially 'a hathelle on ane heghe horse', l. 111, and the words of Middle Age, ll. 183-93, who corresponds in many respects to Winner in the present poem.

248. went, *i. e.* turned about; *cp.*

'Bot walwyþ & wyndiþ: & waltreþ a-boute.'
The Siege of Jerusalem, 732.

For 'wyndiþ' the other MSS. read 'wendith', 'wrythis', 'turned'.

254. 'Some [scholde] rote, some ruste', etc.: MS. some rote; *cp.* 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt'; *Matthew* vi. 19.

264. tho[u]: MS. tho.

266. [wraxl]inge, wyntt[e]res: MS. playinge, wynttres.

267. angarte [of] pryde: MS. angarte pryde; *cp.*

'for angardeȝ pryde', *Gawayne*, l. 681;
'thurgh angard of pride', Allit. *Troy Book*, l. 9745.

268. **to wasschen thyn handes,** *i.e.* in which your hands may dip. It looks at first sight as if the poet were playing upon 'wele' = wealth, and 'welle' = well.

270. **ry[e]hely:** MS. ryhely.

275. **For,** *i.e.* against.

with [cleng]and[e] frostes: MS. gleterand; the alliteration of the line requires a word beginning with 'c'; *cp.* 'for þe forst clenged', *Gawayne*, l. 1694.

276. **Sythen dropeles drye in the dede monethe,** *i.e.* after (? and then) the dropless drought in the barren months.

277. **thou wolle [te] to:** MS. wolle to.

the tauerne by-fore þ^e^ toune-hede: *i.e.* the tavern outside the upper end of the town; in 'the skirts o' the town'; the reference is to one of the taverns of ill fame, beyond the jurisdiction of the authorities, corresponding to the Elizabethan houses 'in the suburbs':—

> 'Dwell I but in the suburbs
> Of your good pleasure? If it be no more,
> Portia is Brutus' harlot, not his wife.'
>
> *Julius Cæsar*, II. i. 285–7.

The poet seems to have some particular locality, and possibly some special tavern, in his mind, and the reference is obviously to London, though the term 'town-head' belongs to the northern districts. 'Townsend' (preserved in the surname) would have been the lower end of the city, near Thames Street, where 'Townsend Lane' is still to be found; but I have failed to discover any trace of 'town-head' or 'town's head' in London. It would appear that 'town-head' was the upper extremity; 'town-end' the lower part, and 'town-gate', the main road or thoroughfare of a town or village; 'down town' signified towards the town-end, 'up town' towards the town-head. The poet is probably thinking of some locality near Shoreditch, or Finsbury.

NED. records 'town-head', but gives no quotation; *EDD.* refers the word to Northumberland, Lakeland, and North-West Derbyshire. It is found also in Cumberland and other Northern as well as Scottish districts. There is an interesting instance of the word in one of the versions of the Scottish ballad of 'The Earl of Errol':—

> 'She was na in att the toun-end,
> Nor yett sa far awa,
> Till Earell he was att her back,
> His goudy lokes to sha.
> She was na in att the toun-head,
> Nor just att the eand,
> Till Earell he was att her back,
> Her earent for to ken.'
>
> Child's *English and Scotch Ballads*, V. 267.

The Skene MS. version, taken down from recitation, reads 'loan-head' for 'town-head'. Child glosses the word 'centre or principal part of the town'; but this misses the meaning.

281. **Florence to schewe,** *i.e.* 'for Florence to appear'; '&, lo,

Florence is there!' 'Florence' was evidently a popular name for a wanton woman. *NED.* quotes from *Dictionary of Canting Crew*, before 1700, '*Florence*, a wench that is touz'd and ruffled.' *EDD.* gives 'florence, to go about untidily, slovenly dressed', and 'Amy Florence' (now nearly obsolete, and not known to correspondents) as a Northamptonshire term for 'any female loosely, untidily, and tawdrily dressed'. The present instance is very noteworthy. Evidently 'Amy' in the phrase quoted is F. amie.

In *Piers Plowman* we have 'Claryce of Cockeslane', and 'Purnel of Flaundres' (C. VII. 366–7) in the tavern-scene described in 'Confessio Gulæ'.

282. **'Wee hee', and 'worthe vp'**: wee-hee, the neighing of a horse, *cp.* 'Ech man neiȝede to the wyf of his neiȝbore', *Jeremiah* v. 8 (Wycliffite version). In *Piers Plowman*, B. VII. 91, occurs a passage similar to the present. Professor Skeat's note on C. V. 20 gives references to other instances of the word, and its significance.

283. **fore**: probably added by the scribe.

286. **And for-thi god laughte that he louede and leuede atþ oþer**
Iche freke one felde ogh þe ferdere be to wirche,
Teche thy men for to tille, etc.

I am inclined to suggest that the poet may have written '**and** for-thi god lacches (*or* wile lacche) that he loues and leues þat oþer'. Some scribe, not understanding the passage, or more probably erroneously referring it to the story of Cain and Abel, forgetting that Cain was a tiller of the ground, has changed the present tenses into the past. I take the reference to be to *Matthew* xxiv. 40 (or *Luke* xvii. 35)—'Tunc duo erunt in agro: unus adsumetur et unus relinquetur'; *adsumetur* translates παραλαμβάνεται; Wycliffe, 'shal be taken to'; Tyndale, 'shalbe receaved'; Authorised Version, 'shall be taken'; Revised 'is taken'. So, too, the poet (if my theory is correct) used the present for the future.

'lacches' would be an excellent rendering of *adsumetur*, with the idea of 'taking to one's self', and happily connects itself etymologically with the Homeric λάζομαι, used as λαμβάνω, the variant roots of the two words having become blended in Greek (*cp.* Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache*).

one felde, suggested by 'in agro'. In *Matthew* the Parable of the Talents exemplifies 'the Signs of the Coming', to which our author refers, and he applies the Parable by stating that 'each one ought to be readier at work in the field'; *cp. Piers Plowman*, A. VII. 218–33; B. VI. 233–48; C. IX. 238–59,—

> 'Ac he that was a wrecche · and wolde nat trauayle,
> The lord, for hus lacchesse · and hus luther sleuthe,
> By-nom hym al that he hadde,' etc.

But it is to be noted that there is a special application to tillage—'in agro' being taken literally, with an homiletic reference to *Genesis* iii. 19. *Cp.*

'Go to Genesis the leaunt engendrure of vs alle;
In sudore and swynk thou schalt thi mete tilie';
(*Piers Plowman*, A. VII. 219.)

Waster, however, is not called upon to till; his duty is 'to teach his men to till', as becomes 'a faithful and wise servant, whom his lord hath made ruler over his household', and not 'to eat and drink with the drunken' (*Matthew* xxiv. 44–51).

There was also, no doubt, a very practical application to the economic conditions of 1352. Increased tillage was the pressing problem of the time. *The Statute of Labourers*, in the previous year, had attempted to deal with the question of labour, disorganized by the ravages of the Black Death, social changes, and especially by war conditions. It is the problem of the present day. The Prime Minister, in a speech delivered to the Chairmen of County War Agricultural Committees on Dec. 21, 1917, made a stirring appeal to landowners—'Land is life to the nation now, land is victory to Great Britain now; therefore, the man who stands on his land and does not cultivate it now is guilty of treason. Deal relentlessly with men who do not make the best of the land, because they are robbing the people of food, and they are robbing the nation of victory.' (*The Times*, Dec. 22, 19[7, p. 4.)

288. ty[n]en: MS. tymen; probably here used in the sense of 'to repair the fences' rather than 'to enclose'. *Cp.*

'He's i' th' feilt wi' the men, tinin' hedges'
(*EDD. sub* tine).

289. **Rayse vp,** etc.; Waster's property was evidently in a dilapidated condition; he is urged by Winner to restore his rent-houses.

ryme vp thi ȝerdes, *i. e.* clear up thy gardens, clear away the accumulated rubbish due to long neglect; 'vp' intensive, as in 'tidy up', 'clear up'; OE. rȳman, to make roomy, to extend, to clear of obstructions; ME. rimen, rumen, roumen; *cp.* aroint = OE. gerȳm ðū, get out of the way! *EDD.* gives 'to rim household' = to remove the furniture from one house to another, a Warwickshire phrase.

290–4. **Owthere hafe as þou haste done,** etc. In the first instance the poet is evidently recalling *Matthew* xxv. 30, 'And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness', but in specifying 'the worse that is to follow' he identifies Waster with Babylon, as one of those who have 'lived deliciously' with her, and he transfers to Waster the fate that was to befall the Scarlet Woman—'Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire' (*Revelation* xviii. 8, 9). This perhaps explains the words in ll. 291–92,—

'first þ^{e} faylynge of fode, and than the fire aftir,
To brene the alle at a birre.'

(*Cp. Vulgate*, 'mors, et luctus, et fames, et igne comburetur.' Was 'to brene the alle at a birre' perhaps an intentional echo of 'igne comburetur'?)

'Death and mourning' are not mentioned. The Black Death of 1349 and the tribulation caused thereby were calamities of too recent

a date; they belonged to the immediate past, and their effects were obvious.

292. **The more colde es to come**, *i. e.* even greater cold than we have at present. This looks like an allusion to the bitter frost from December 1352 to March 1353. If this is so, the poet was writing during these months. This is about the time which other evidence tends to fix for the date of composition. The manner in which this last line in the Fit is added is very striking, and, although it is noteworthy that a famine followed from March to July, the allusion to 'the failing of food' may well be merely to 'fames' of *Revelation*. If so, Winner's words received striking confirmation. On the other hand, the prophecy may be after the event. 'This prophecy Merlin shall make; for I live before his time.' On the whole I conclude that the poet wrote during 'the terrible long, hard and cold Winter, which endured with extream Rigour from the 6 of *December* till the 12 of *March*' (Barnes, *Life of Edward III*, p. 468).

296–9. *Cp. Matthew* xix. 21; so, too, ll. 256–8.

300–1. *Cp. P. P. Crede*, ll. 113–22.

300. **Owthir it freres feche**: MS. Owthir it freres it feche.

302. **se[w]es**: MS. slees; *i. e.* prosecutes at law.

304. **myndale**: *i. e.* mind-ale, an ale-drinking or feast in memory of a person; the word is not elsewhere recorded; *cp.* bridal = bride-ale, *i. e.* bride-feast; 'there were leet-ales, scot-ales, church-ales, clerk-ales, bid-ales, and bride-ales' (Skeat). As to 'mynd', *cp.* 'mind-day', the day on which a person's death was commemorated; 'month's mind', or 'month mind', the service in memory of the deceased a month after the funeral.

310. *Cp.* 'As wel fastyngdaies as Frydaies and heye-feste euenes', *Piers Plowman*, C. VII. 182.

311. **his fere one the ferrere syde**, *i. e.* Saturday; *cp.*

> 'Lechour seide "allas!", and to vr ladi criede
> To maken him han merci for his misdede,
> Bitwene god almihti and his pore soule,
> With-that he schulde the Seterday seuen ȝer after
> Drinken bote with the doke, and dynen bot ones';
>
> *ibid.*, A. V. 54–8.

The Saturday fast was kept in honour of the Virgin, whose votive mass was said on Saturday.

314. **And thies beryns one the bynches, with [biggins] one lofte**: MS. howes; *cp.* l. 150. The scribe did not understand the text, and for some strange word beginning with 'b' wrote 'howes'. I suggest 'biggins' as the right reading—an excellent word for the 'coif', which resembled the 'biggin' or child's cap, or night-cap. The earliest instance of this use in *NED.* is under the year 1639:

> 'Ha' made him barrister
> And rais'd him to his satin cap and biggon.'
>
> *City Match*, IV. vii;

and the earliest instance quoted in the sense of 'a child's cap' is from

Palsgrave, 1530; Shakespeare's 'he whose brow with homely biggen bound' (for night-cap), *2 Henry IV*, IV. v. 27, is readily recalled. The word was derived from OF. beguin, a coif tied under the chin, worn by the béguines, certain lay sisterhoods founded in the Low Countries in the twelfth century by a priest called Lambert Bègue or le Bègue, *i. e.* the Stammerer. In *The Romaunt of the Rose* occur the following lines:

'And Dame Abstinence-Streyned
Toke on a robe of kamelyne,
And gan hir graithe as a Bygynne.
A large coverchief of threde
She wrapped all aboute hir heede.' ll. 7364–8.

From all this it may be safely inferred that 'biggin' was used in English as early as the middle of the fourteenth century in the sense of 'coif', although no other early instance is recorded than the possible occurrence in the present passage.

317. **itwiste**: MS. (?) it wiste (for the form *cp.* itwix, betwyste); *i. e.* between them, in the midst of them; *cp.* Dr. Henry Bradley's suggested emendation, in *Athenæum*, April 18, 1903.

Concerning Scharshull, *vide* Preface.

321–3. Perhaps a reference to the Rich Young Man of the Gospel.

321. **es sothe**: MS. es full sothe.

322. **ranke wele**, *i. e.* abundant wealth.

The more hauande þat he hathe, the more of hert feble, *i. e.* the more that he hath worth-having, the more is he feeble of heart; 'hauande'; *cp.* ONorw. havande, in the sense of 'worth-having' (Aasen's *Norsk Ordbog*). This use of the word is nowhere recorded in English, and is evidently due to Scandinavian influence; *cp.* OE. hæfen, property, riches; hæfen-lēas, poor.

The line is probably a paraphrase of 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also'; hence, the poet's 'þat sayde es full ȝore'.

326. [**thou weryed**]: MS. 'this wrechide', evidently caught from two lines above; perhaps we should read 'this' for 'that'. 'Lo! thou cursed waster, this everywhere is known'—(introducing the statements that follow).

329. **ow[es]**: MS. owthe.

330. [**thou**]: MS. he. The scribe, having erroneously interpreted and changed l. 326, alters the pronoun in this passage.

332–61. Waster's extravagant menu should be compared with Arthur's banquet to the ambassadors from Rome, Allit. *Morte Arthure*, ll. 176–215. Concerning ancient cookery, *cp. Antiquitates Culinariæ*, by Richard Warner, 1791; *Liber Cure Cocorum*, ed. Richard Morris, *Philological Society*, 1862; *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books*, ed. Thomas Austin, E.E.T.S. 91, 1888.

The literary history of the menu which forms the basis of Waster's feast can be traced back as far as the treatise of Walter de Bibbesworth, *fl.* 1270; *cp. Volume of Vocabularies*, ed. Thomas Wright, vol. i, p. 173, and *Femina*, ed. W. Aldis Wright, p. 81.

332. [**bayes**]: MS. plontes; *cp.*

'The boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedeck'd with bays and rosemary',

the traditional song sung at Queen's College, Oxford (*Ancient English Christmas Carols*, ed. Edith Rickert, Chatto and Windus, 1910, p. 259).

337. **doke**: portion, share; not elsewhere recorded in this sense.

338. **nedles note**: *cp.* 'Bot al wat3 nedles note', *Patience*, 220.

340–1. **quarter[e]d swannes, Tartes of ten ynche**; MS. quarterd; *cp.*

'Grett swannes fulle swythe in silueryne chargeoures,
Tartes of Turky;

Morte Arthure, 185–6.

345. **Martynmesse mete**: *cp.* 'Martinmas beef', *i. e.* the meat of an ox salted at Martinmas.

348. [ȝ]e: MS. he; *cp.* l. 352.

349. **Barnakes and buturs**: *cp.* 'Bernakes and botures', *Morte Arthure*, 189.

352. [ȝowe]: MS. hym. The MS. reading is evidently due to the error of 'he' for 'ȝe' in l. 348.

353–60. The letters and words in brackets are purely conjectural the MS. has been torn away; *cp.* Textual Notes.

354. [Daryo]ls **and dische-metis, þat ful dere coste**: *cp.*

'With darielles endordide and daynteez ynewe';

Morte Arthure, 199.

355. [**Mawme**]ne: this conjectural reading is put forward, instead of 'marchpane' (originally suggested), for which the space in the MS. is too small, and against which other reasons may be adduced. Moreover, the poet is evidently playing on the word when he adds, 'ȝour mawes to fill' (*see* Textual Notes).

In *The Turnament of Totenham*, c. 1450 (*Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1866, vol. iii), there is a burlesque of these lavish feasts, ll. 235–336, and among other items of the feast described we have:—

'gryndulstones in gravy,
And mylstones in mawmany.'

ll. 262–3.

356. *Cp.* 'Ay two had disches twelue,
Good ber, & bryȝt wyn boþe

Gawayne, l. 128.

at a merk: *cp.*

'þat pine to fynde þe place þe peple bi-forne
For to sette þe sylueren, þat sere sewes halden,
On clothe';

ibid., l. 123.

362. **scathed**: MS. schathed; the alliteration necessitates this change, though the form with 'sch' is not rare.

364. **But one[s] I herd in a haule of a herdmans tonge**: MS. one; *cp.* 'me by-tyde ones', l. 31.

Cp. 'I herde on a halyday at a hyȝe masse;'

Patience, l. 9.

'In halydayes at holicherche whan ich herde masse.'
Piers Plowman, B. xiii. 84.

The reference seems to be to some specific writer or speaker; the 'herdman' suggests, at first sight, Amos.

365. **'Better were meles many þan a mery nyghte'**: evidently an Old English proverb, though the nearest form I have been able to find is 'Better are meals many than one too merry', which occurs in Heywood's *Dialogue conteyning the number of the effectuall prouerbes in the Englishe Tounge, etc.* (1562).

'Leaue this (quoth she) & learne liberalitee,
To stynt stryfe, growne by your prodigalitee.
Oft said the wise man, whom I erst did bery,
Better are meales many than one to mery.
Well, (quoth he) that is answered with this, wife,
Better is one monthes cheere, than a churles hole lyfe.'
Spenser Society's Reprint, p. 68.

366. **forthe[r]**: MS. forthe; *cp.* l. 216.

[Fitt III]

369. **[a lite] ȝeris**: MS. fewe ȝeris, 'a lite' = a few, *cp.* 'a lite grotes', *Liber Cocorum, c.* 1420 (*NED*).

370. **Th[en] þe pure†**: MS. Thurgh þe poure. The reading of the MS. makes it difficult to construe l. 373, though 'thurgh' effectively links ll. 369-72.

372. **[þat it]**: MS. &.

373. **for wanhope in erthe**: *i. e.* for despair at plenty; 'erthe' = OE. ierþ, crop, produce. Hence 'in erthe', far from being a mere unnecessary phrase, an unpoetical repetition of the last word of l. 371, is essential.

'Erthe' is a different word from the ordinary 'earth'. Its first sense is the act of earing or ploughing, tilling; produce of arable land; and so 'crop.' It is used technically in books on husbandry: *cp.*

'Nowe cicera the blake is sowe in season
On erthes tweyne or oon sowe hem as peson;'
Palladius, E.E.T.S. 52, 1873, p. 106, ll. 67-8.

The ON. arðr, a plough, is used in Icelandic similarly in the sense of produce.

373-4. *Cp.* 'Here's a farmer, that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty;' *Macbeth*, II. iii. 5.

'Each Muck-worme will be rich with lawlesse gaine,
Although he smother vp mowes of seuen yeares graine,
And hang'd himself when corne grows cheap again;'
Hall's *Satires*, Bk. IV, Sat. 6.

In the year 1354 corn was so abundant and cheap that the Commons addressed a petition on the subject, in so far as labour was affected thereby (*Rolls of Parliament*, ii. 261).

377. **pedders in towne,** *i. e.* village, hamlet; *cp.*

'A poure Persoun of a town . . .
Wyd was his parisshe and houses fer a-sunder,'
Chaucer, *Prol.* 478, 491.

378–81. With these lines *cp. Piers Plowman*, B. VI. 282–312; Peres has no 'salt bacoun'; but as for 'the laboreres'

'May no peny-ale hem paye · ne no pece of bakoun,
But if it be fresch flesch other fische · fryed other bake,
And that *chaude* or *plus chaud* · for chillyng of her mawe.'

386. [fr]ete: MS. ete.

390. **'Who so wele schal wyn, a wastour moste he fynde':** evidently a Middle English proverb, though I cannot find another instance; but in the German folk-tale, preserved by Ludwig Bechstein (*Deutsches Märchenbuch*, 1846), entitled 'Bruder Sparer und Bruder Verthuer', *i. e.* Brother Winner and brother Waster, I find 'Sparer muss einen Verthuer haben', *i. e.* 'a Winner must have a Waster', given specifically as an old German proverb.

395. [þat]: MS. &.

396. **in a wale tyme** = in quick time. This sense of the adjective is illustrated by:—

'Þare suld my folk for defaute be famyscht for euire,
And worthe in a wale quile to wricchis as ȝour-selfe!'
Wars of Alexander, 4596–7.

The same use of the phrase is also found in *Wars of Alexander*, ll. 2018, 2261, 4772.

It would seem that this word is not the same in origin as 'wale' = choice, fit. In the northern dialects, to wale = to be quick over anything; *cp. EDD. sub* Wale. But there is no indication in the modern dialects of the use of the word as an adjective. In E. Frisian, 'walen' = to turn round, and this word gives the root idea of the many words found in English and the other dialects; *cp.* Goth. walus, a staff; OE. walu, a weal; ON. völr, a round stick, valr, round. 'Wale', applied to time, may originally have meant 'quickly revolving', hence 'quick'.

The familiar epithet 'wale' often found with 'ithes', waves, should be referred to the present use, in the sense of 'moving'; *cp.* G. welle, wave. It is noteworthy that we find 'þe rough ythes,' evidently synonymous with 'þe wale ythes', is found in Allit. *Troy Book*, l. 11869. If so, wale stremes, 460, = swift currents; *cp.* l. 42.

399. MS. defective.

400. **For to s[chadewe] ȝour sones:** MS. for to saue to ȝour sones; the text is clearly corrupt, 'saue' being caught up from the next line.

405. Probably '[To] bryng'. **brod[e]:** letter covered by a blot.

407. **sett & solde,** *i. e.* let, or leased, and sold. The earliest quotation for 'set' in this sense in *NED.* is dated 1422 (*cp.* set, § 57); the fuller phrases appear to be 'to set in feu, in feu ferm, in lease, in tack'.

408–14. 'Wasted all wilfully to please your wives.
They who formerly had lords in the land and ladies rich,
(*i. e.* they who formerly were the servants of lords and ladies),

Now are they wantons of the new fashion, so daintily attired,
With long trailing sleeves, reaching to the ground,
Bordered all around with ermine about;
Whom, I trow, it is as hard to handle in the dark,
As an artless simple wench who never had worked silk.'

408. **waste[d]**: MS. wastes.

410. **nysottes of þ^e^ new gett**: wantons of the new fashion; *cp.*

'a gay wenche of the newe jet,'

Poem on the times of Edward II, l. 118 (*Political Songs of England*, ed. Thomas Wright, *Camden Society*, 1839).

nysottes: the only instance of the word in *NED.* is from Skelton's *Magnificencë*, 1526—

'Where I spy a nysot gay,
That wyll syt ydyll all the day.'

411. **[si]de**: MS. elde.

The satirist in Edward II's reign exclaimed—

'For pride hath sleve, the land is almusles,'

i. e.

Because pride hath sleeves, the land is without alms.
Political Songs, ed. Thomas Wright, p. 255.

In *Richard the Redeles*, III. 152, we read—

'But if the slevis slide on the erthe,
Thei woll be wroth as the wynde · and warie hem that it made;
And [but] ȝif it were elbowis · adoun to the helis,
Or passinge the knee · it was not acounted.'

Chaucer's Parson in his denunciation of Pride deals with 'superfluitee of clothinge' in men and women; *Persones Tale*, § 27.

412. **Ourlede all vmbtourne**: *i. e.* bordered all around; *cp.* 'euesed al vmbe-torne', clipped all around, *Gawayn*, 184.

'al vmbtourne', an adverbial phrase; *cp.* vmbygon, vmby-gone, ll. 118, 62; her [h]ere [h]eke al hyr vmbe-gon (*i. e.* her hair also all about her), *Perle*, 210.

'vmbtourne' in its adverbial use has not been explained. We find in OE. ymbtyrnan, to surround, tyrnan, to turn, tyrngeat, a turnstile, turnian, to revolve; and it would seem that the present word shows the stem of this OE. word (ultimately derived from L. *tornāre*), perhaps influenced by or coalescing with the OF. tourner. At the same time it is difficult to understand the formation 'vmbe-tourne', *i. e.* turning about, going right around.

There evidently existed a parallel phrase found in *Ormulum*, l. 17563, 'umbe-trin' = umbe-trind, around, where trind is an adjective, *cp.* OFris. trind, trund, Dan., Swed. trind, MLG. trint, trent, round, 'umme trint', Du. omtrent, around, about. (*Cp.* trend, trendle, trindle, trundle; and OE. trinde, round lump; OE. trendel, circle.) May not 'umbe-tourne' be under the influence of 'turn', of the Scandinavian 'umbe-trin' = a remodelling of 'umbe trin[d]', or perhaps 'umbe trun[d]', by metathesis 'umbe-tirn', 'umbe-turn'?

413. **þat as harde es, I hope**: MS. þat es as harde as I hope.

414. *Cp.* 'And ȝe, loueli ladies, with (ȝ)oure longe fyngres,
That habbeth selk and sendel, souweth, whon tyme is,
Chesybles for chapeleyns, and churches to honoure.'
Piers Plowman, A. VII. 18–20.

The idea of the lines would lead one to expect 'werede' rather than 'wroghte'. 'Silk-work', embroidery, was one of the accomplishments of young ladies of position. Perhaps 'silly simple wenches' aped their betters', and the text may be correct.

415. **Bot who-so [lykes] luke† on hir†**: MS. 'But who-so lukes on hir lyre. The scribe has evidently made an attempt to make sense of a miswritten line, which is thus restored, with gain to syntax and rhythm, 'but, whoso liketh, look on her, our Lady of Heaven', etc.

420. **hir w[e]des wer pore**: MS. wordes; *cp.* ll. 54, 223.

In Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* the following lines occur:—

'Ye wemen all schuld take hede
With yor perles and yor ryche stonis bryght,
How that yor quene flowre of womonhed
Of no devyse embrowdyrd hath her wede
Ne forred with armyn nor with trysty gray
Ne martryn sable I trow in gud fay . . .
Lett be yowre pride and yowre affeccyon
Of ryche aray,' etc.

(*Visions of Tundale, together with Metrical Moralizations*, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 114.)

421. **of siche**: of such-like.

422. **To**: MS. for to.

[e]schewes: MS. ofte schewes, a corruption of the original, helped perhaps by 'schewe' in the previous line. The scribe, having written 'schewes' for 'eschewes', attempted, it would seem, to give some sense by adding the word 'ofte'. *Cp.*

'Pouerte is the first poynte · that Pryde moste hateth;'
Piers Plowman, B. XIV. 279.

423. **þ[is], [werped]**: MS. þ^{e}, castes.

428. **to fynde**, *i. e.* to provide for, to equip.

435–8. The MS. reading of this passage is as follows:

& ȝe negardes appon nyghte ȝe nappen so harde
Routten at ȝo*ur* raxilly*ng* raysen ȝo*ur* hurdes
ȝe beden wayte one þ^{e} wedir, þen wery ȝe þ^{e} while
þ*at* ȝe nade hightilde vp ȝo*ur* houses, & ȝo*ur* hyne raysed.

The whole passage is evidently corrupt, and the reading in the text is the editor's attempt at a restoration of the lines, which seem to be an echo of *Ecclus.* xxxi. 1–2: 'Watching for riches consumeth the flesh, and the care thereof driveth away sleep. Watching care will not let a man slumber, as a sore disease breaketh sleep.'

436. *Cp.* 'Rascled and remed and routte at the laste';
Piers Plowman, C. VIII. 7.

437. **Beden ȝe wayte**: MS. ȝe beden wayte; from time to time ye watch, etc. The scribe took 'beden' to be the verb, and transposed the words, not recognizing 'bedén', *adv.* anon, ever and anon.

438. [h]ade: MS. nade; the scribe, misunderstanding the whole passage, changed 'hade' into 'nade', and made nonsense. Winner, in view of the bad weather, regrets that he has improved his property and given liveries to his servants.

Winner had urged Waster to 'raise up his rent-houses', l. 289.

hightilde: *cp.* hight, to adorn; of doubtful origin, but perhaps connected with OE. hyht, hope, expectation, gladness. The present form, with the diminutive suffix, is found in *Cleanness*, 1290, and *The Wars of Alexander*, 1541, 4969, etc. The additional adverb 'vp' is evidently intensive. Its use is characteristic of the poet.

440, etc. *Cp.*

'And thou with wandrynge and woo schalte wake for thi gudes,
And be thou doluen and dede, thi dole schall be schorte,
And he that thou leste luffes schall layke him there-with,
And spend that thou haste longe sparede, the deuyll spede hym ells!'

Parlement of the Thre Ages, ll. 257–60.

442. w[a]re, MS. were; those that thou wishest should hold it.

444. *Cp. Matthew* xxv. 41–6.

445. þou tast [no] tent one a tale: the scribe has, I think, omitted 'no'. The reference is evidently to the Parable of the Rich Man, Luke xii. 16–21. The parable further suggests a reference to Matt. vi. 24–34, in the lines that follow, 'I hold hym madde', etc., *i. e.* I hold him mad that worries painfully to win his competence.

446. mak[ande] to: MS. make for to; *cp. Parlement of the thre Ages*, l. 278, text A. reads 'makande', B. 'make',—

'And aftir irkede me with this and ese was me leuere,
Als man in his medill elde his makande wolde haue.
Than I mukkede and marlede and made vp my howses,' etc.

Parlement of the Thre Ages, ll. 277–9.

447. hi[t], hi[t], hi[t]: MS. hir, hir, hir.

449–51. 'For whoso may live longest chances to fetch
Wood that he shall waste, to warm his heels,
Further than his father did by fifteen miles.'

Waster argues in favour of a short and merry life; the longer you live, the more timber you will use up for fuel, and in your old age you will have to send a long way—fifteen miles further than your father did—for the wood to be wasted merely in getting yourself warm.

Possibly 'waste' has connotations with the technical use of 'waste' for unallowed appropriation of timber; *cp.* 'escrippe or waste', *Lincoln Diocese Documents*, ed. Andrew Clarke, E.E.T.S. Original Series, 149, p. 205, l. 17. *Vide* article 'Waste' in the Law Dictionaries.

454. [herte]: not in MS.

457. bro[þ]e worde[s]: MS. brode worde; *cp.*

'þat oþer burne watȝ abayst of his broþe wordeȝ.'

Cleanness, l. 149.

461. to þe Pope of Rome, at Avignon.

461–5. This reference to the luxury of the cardinals and the papal court would apply to Clement VI, who died on December 6, 1352, but

hardly to his successor, Innocent VI (1352–62), who strongly opposed the methods in vogue for raising money.

468–73. MS. defective.

468. **he**, *i. e.* Waster.

471. **[falles]**: MS. happyns; the line is very doubtful.

[to strecche]; *cp.*

'in-wyth not a fote,
To strech in þe strete þou hatȝ no vygo*ur*.'

Perle, 970–1.

472. **won[ne]**: *cp.* wonnes, l. 249.

473. **& wyng[es þer]-till**: the bracketed letters are torn away. (?) 'and wings thereto', *i. e.* where wealth easily flies away; *cp.* 'Riches certainly make themselves wings, they fly away, as an eagle toward heaven'; *Proverbs* xxiii. 5.

476. **any ber[ande] pote[ner]**: MS. any potet beryn. potet = poted = potēd = pote*n*d = pote*n*e*r* (the contraction for *er* being easily mistaken for *d*) = pautener, OF. pautonniere, a bag, purse; *cp.* potewer, in *Boy and Mantle*, l. 21, *Percy Folio*, = poteuer, *cp. Sir Degree*, 866, *ibid.* (where *Auchinleck MS.* reads 'aumener'). 'Any berande potener' = any one bearing a purse, *cp.* 'berebag', probably 'bag-bearer', opprobiously applied by Minot to the Scotch. The reference, if my emendation is correct, is to the 'gipsier', or purse suspended ostentatiously from the girdle, an encouragement not only to cutpurses, but also to idle Wasters in search of Gulls.

'potet beryn' represents an attempt to make sense of 'berande potet, or poted'.

Holthausen (*Anglia Beiblatt* 34, p. 14) suggests emending 'potet' to 'bostous' or perhaps 'bostend', ostentatious, showy.

'Botet', *i. e.* booted, equipped for riding, as a traveller, which makes the alliteration normal, is not recorded till 1552.

479. **to the crete**: to the Crete, *i. e.* to the wine of Crete, a sweet wine often mentioned in the City Records of the period (see *Letter Books*, F, G, and references there given). At first sight the text suggests that 'the Crete' was an inn where this wine was specially sold.

480. **Bred Strete**: 'the cooks of Bread Street' are specially mentioned in the City Records (see *Letter Book* G, p. 332).

bikken [*with*] þ^{i}: MS. bikken þ^{i}.

487. **þat fynd a peny**: 'fynd' = fiend, *cp.* l. 236. *EDD.* quotes 'fiend a penny', Smith's *Poems*, 1714; *cp.* 'the devil a penny they have left me, but a bare pension,' Marlowe's *Faustus*, sc. vi. 157 (Temple Ed.). The phrase 'þe deuel haf' (= the devil a bit), *Patience*, l. 460, should be compared.

& put owte his eghe: i. e. and hoodwink him.

490. **þ^{e} Pultrie**: interesting references to the Poultry, and to poulterers and poultry, occur in *Letter Books* F, G, H.

492. **henne[s], serue[d]**: MS. henne, serue.

494. **albus**: the common form in ME. is 'alp'; I can find no other instance of 'alb', though 'awbe', possibly the same word, occurs in Gascoigne's *Complaint of Philomene*, 'The tatling Awbe doth please

some fancie wel', l. 35. Various dialect forms, 'olp, ope, awf, alf, ulf, hoop, mawp, nope, pope', are given in *EDD.*; *cp.*

'In many places were nyghtyngales,
Alpes, fynches, and wodewales.'

Romaunt of the Rose, ll. 657–8.

[þe] o[sul]les: MS. þis oþer foules,—evidently the scribe's substitution for something he did not understand: I conjecture some such original as 'þe oselles'.

egretes: an early instance of the word; the earliest example in *NED.* is dated 1411, from Rogers, *Agric. & Prices*, iii 129/2, 'egrets, 4 at ½'. It is evidently the AF. form of OF. egrette, aigrette; *cp. Liber Albus*, p. 467.

496. I see no reason for changing 'wynnere' to 'wastoure', as has been suggested (*Athenæum*, April 18, 1903). 'Watch for me' means that Winner is to remain in London till the King's departure; he could come to Paris from Avignon.

if þu wilt wele chese: 'if thou wilt choose out wealth'; or, perhaps, 'if thou wilt journey well, take a right course'; *cp.* 'Chese þe forthe in-to þe chepe', l. 474.

498. þe proude pale[y]s of Paris: MS. pales, *i. e.* the Louvre; *cp.*

'Of France was mekill wo, i-wis,
And in Paris þa high palays;'

Minot, vii. 165.

499. to do it in ded, (?) to put it into action, to carry it into effect; probably 'it' is a scribal addition, and the words may simply mean 'to do things really well'.

500. s[iluer]: the letters after the first are rubbed out.

503. þe kirke of Colayne þer þe kynges ligges: a reference to the Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne Cathedral. Probably the poet wrote 'þer þe þre kynges ligges'; *cp.* '*The Three Kings of Cologne*', an early English translation of *Historia Trium Regum* by John of Hildesheim, ed. by C. Horstmann (E.E.T.S. Original Series 85, 1886).

Edward III had the Three Kings in special reverence, and made offerings and prayed at the Shrine, notably in 1338, when he went to Coblenz to meet his brother-in-law the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, who invested him 'Vicar-general of the Empire in all the Germanies and in all the Allmaines'. The poet seems to imply that on the present occasion he would visit the Cathedral on setting out, and would offer thanksgiving there on the success of his enterprise.

GLOSSARY

a, *indef. art.* 11; **an**, 374; **ane**, 36; OE. ān.
aboute, around, 280, 412, 475; **abowte**, 249; OE. onbūtan.
aftir, according to, 429; *adv.* afterwards, 17, 133; **aftire**, behind, 207; OE. æfter.
agayne, against, 172; OE. ongegn.
age, 120; OF. aäge.
albus = ME. alpes, bullfinches, 494.
all, *adj.* 162; **al**, 385; **alle**, *adv.* 60, 408; OE. eall.
all-þofe, although, 420; OE. eall + ON. *þōh; *cp.* þofe.
als, as, 26, 32; al[s], 55; **as**, 4; OE. eallswā.
amblande, ambling, 417; OF. ambler.
amonges, among, 136; OE. ongemang + -es.
an, ane, *v.* **a.**
and, 1; if, 259; &, 211; OE. and.
angarte, boasting, arrogance, 267; *v. Note.*
anone, anon, 214; OE. on ān.
anoþer, another, 116; OE. ān ōðer.
any, 56; OE. ænig.
appaire, *inf.* impair, 372; OF. ampeirer.
appon, on, upon, in, 14, 24, 66, 67, 497; **appone**, 12; **vpon**, 70; OE. uppan.
[a]rayed, *pp.* equipped, 438; AF. arayer.
are, *v.* **or.**
are, aren, *v.* **be.**
Arestotle, 316.
armes, 193; OF. armes.
as, *v.* **als.**
aske[de], *pt.* 3 *s.* 213; OE. āscian.
assche, ash, 397; OE. æsc.
asse, 417; OE. assa.
at, 16; amid, 436; OE. æt.
attyred, *pp.* equipped, adorned, 203, 410; **attyrede**, 270; OF. atirier.
aughte, *v.* **owethe.**
Austyn, St. Augustine of Hippo, 316.
Austyns, Austin Friars, Augustinians, 186.
a-waye, gone, 183, 283; OE. on weg.
aye, ever, 227; **ay**, 372; ON. ei.
ayther, each, 202; **aythere**, 50, 459; OE. ǣghwæðer.

bachelere, a young knight following the banner of another, 328; OF. bacheler.
bacon, 379; **bakone**, 251; OF. bacon.
baken, *pp.* baked, 335; OE. bacan.
bakke, 114; OE. bæc.
bakone, *v.* **bacon.**
bale, *adj.* wicked, 292; *n.* pain, 357; OE. bealu.
bal[l]e, 164; ON. bǫllr.
banere, banner, 131, 143; company, 168; *pl.* **baners**, banners, 52; OF. banere.
bankes, *v.* **bonke.**
bare, *v.* **bere.**
barkes, bark of trees, 39; ON. bǫrkr, *gen. s.* barkar.

barme, bosom, 418; OE. bearm.
barnakes, wild geese, 349; **bernacles**, 39; OF. bernaque (*with diminutive ending*).
barne, child, 418; OE. bearn.
barone, 328; OF. barun.
batell, army, 105; OF. bataille.
[bayes], 332; OF. baie.
be, *inf.* 27, 201, 255; **ben**, 298; *pr.* 3 *s.* **es**, 5, 19; *pl.* **are**, 177; **aren**, 160; **ere**, 432; **bene**, 29, 235, 258; **ben**, 433; 3 *s. subj.* **be**, 147, 196, 478; *pt.* 1 *s.* **was**, 46; 3 *s.* 1; *pl.* **were**, 20; **wer**, 420; 3 *s. subj.* **were**, 308, 343; *pl.* 98, 365; *pp.* **bene**, 3; OE. bēon.
be, *v.* **by**.
bede-hede, bed's head, 239; OE. bedd, hēafod.
beden[e], ever and anon, 437; (?) OE. bi-dēne.
beefe, 379; OF. boef.
be-fore, in front, 78; **by-fore**, 207; in front of, 277; OE. beforan.
begynnes, *pr.* 3 *s.* begins, 1 (*heading*); OE. beginnan.
be-hynde, 78; **by-hynde**, 10; OE. behindan.
belte, 96, 187; *pl.* **beltys**, 182; OE. belt.
be-lyue, quickly, 46; ME. bi life.
bemys, tie-beams, 251; OE. bēam.
bende, heraldic 'bend', 149; OE. bend + OF. bende.
benden, *pr.* 3 *pl.* bend, 251; OE. bendan.
bent, field, 105, 163; OE. beonet.
berde, beard, 91; OE. beard.
bere, *inf.* bear, 30; *pt.* 3 *s.* **bare**, 93; *pp.* **borne**, 307; OE. beran.
bernacles, *v.* **barnakes**.
bery-brown, brown as a berry, 91; OE. berie, brūn.
be[ryinge-day], burial day, 470; OE. byrgan + -ing, dæg.
beryn, warrior, man, 101, 168; **beryne**, 278; *pl.* **beryns**, 214; OE. beorn.
besantes (heraldic), roundels *or*, representing gold besants (so called because first struck at Byzantium, 61; **ynglysse b.**, probably = nobles; OF. besan.
beste, beast, 73; *pl.* **bestes**, 79; **bestis**, 385; OF. beste.
be-syde, *prep.* beside, 36; *adv.* hard by, 138; **besyde**, in addition, 170; OE. be sīdan.
be-tyde, *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* happen, 204; *pt.* 3 *s. ind.* **by-tyde**, 31; OE. be + tīdan.
betyn, beaten, embossed, 61; OE. bēatan.
bid, *pr.* 1 *s.* command, 197; 3 *s.* **biddith**, 101; **biddes**, asks for, 239; *imp. s.* **bidd**, command, 105; OE. biddan.
bide, *pr.* 2 *s. subj.* remain, 470; OE. bīdan.
biggede, *pp.* built, 1; ON. byggja.
[biggins], 314; *v. Note.*
bikken, *imp. s.* beckon, 480; OE. bīecnan, late OE. bēacnian.
billed, 349; OE. bile, *n.*
billes, 39; OE. bile.
birdes, 348; **byrddes**, 493; OE. brid; O.Northumb. bird.
birdes, ladies, 426; ? OE. byrde, *adj.*
birre, blow; **at a b.**, at one blow, in an instant, 292; ON. byrr.
blake, black, 143, 164; OE. blæc.
blasande, shining, 342; OE. blase, *n.*
ble, colour, 93, 96, 144; **blee**, 156, 175; OE. blēo.
blerren, *inf.* blear, 278; ? *cp.* MHG. blêren, blerren, to weep; LG. blarr-oged, bleer-oged.
blesenande, bright, shining, magnificent, 168; *cp.* OE. blæse, blysa, ON. blys, a torch.

blewe, blue, 93; OF. bleu.
blode, blood, spirit, 15, 194; OE. blōd.
blussche, appearance, 187; ? OE. blyscan, *vb.*; *cp.* OE. āblisian.
blynnes, *imp. pl.* cease, 457; OE. blinnan.
bocled, *pp.* buckled, 182; **buklede**, 114; OF. boucle, *n.*
[**bodworde**], message, 125; OE. bod + word.
body, 114; OE. bodig.
bokel[e]s, buckles, 158; OF. boucle.
bolde, 105; OE. beald; OM. bald.
bolle, bowl, cup, 278; *pl.* **bolles**, 214; OE. bolla.
bone, 181; *pl.* **bones**, 111; OE. bān.
bonke, bank, 33; *pl.* **bankes**, 41; ON. *banki, bakki.
borde, board, table, 342; **burde**, 335; OE. bord.
bore-hedis, boars' heads, 175; OE. bār, hēafod.
bores hede, boar's head, 332.
borne, *v.* bere.
boste, *n.* boast, 15; AF. bost.
boste, *inf.* boast, 241; AF. bost, *n.*
bot, but, 18, 31, 134; **bott**, only, 281; **bot**, 54; even, 357; except, 237; without, 7; unless, 485; **bot if**, 100; OE. būtan.
bothe, 123; **bothen**, 212; ON. bāðir.
botours, *v.* **buturs**.
bott, *v.* bot.
boun, *v.* bown.
bourne, stream, 33; OE. burna.
bowells, 357; OF. bouel.
bow[e]men, 194; OE. boga, mann.
bown, *pr. pl.* betake themselves, 208; *v. next word.*
bown, ready, prepared, 52, 110, 431; **bownn**, 348; ON. būinn.
bowndes, bands, bonds, 252; ON. band.
boyes, varlets, knaves, 15; *cp.* EFris. boi.
brake, *pt.* 3 *s.* broke, 121; *pp.* **broken**, 418; OE. brecan.
brande, sword, 241; **bronde**, 239; *pl.* **brandes**, 431; OE. brand, brond.
brase, brace, the portion of a suit of armour covering the arms, 158; *pl.* **brases**, 113; OF. brace.
brauden, *pp.* woven, 113; **brouden**, 144; OE. brogden, *pp. of* bregdan; *cp.* brayden.
braunche, branch, 121; OF. branche.
braundesche, *inf. with reflex. pron.*, swagger, 241; *pt. sg.* [**brawndeschet**], brandished, 121; OF. brandiss-, *lengthened stem of* brandir.
brayden, *pt. pl.* flung, 52; *pp.* **brayde**, unfurled, 163; OE. bregdan; *cp.* brauden.
Bred Strete, Bread Street, Cheapside, 480; OE. brēad, strǣt.
bremly, noisily, 41; OE. brēme + -ly.
brene, *inf.* burn, 292; ON. brenna; *cp.* brynneth.
brerdes, borders, 164; OE. brerd.
breste, 116; OE. brēost.
Bretayne, Britain, 1; OF. Bretaigne.
brethe, fury, 457; ? ON. bræði.
brighte, 50; **bright**, 426; **bryghte**, 33; OE. beorht.
broche, spit, 348; OF. broche.
brod, broad, 116; **brod[e]**, 405; **brode**, 333; OE. brād.
broghte, *v.* **bryng**.
broken, *v.* brake.
bronde, *v.* brande.
brothes, broths, 333; OE. broþ.
brothir, 309; OE. brōȝor.
bro[þ]e, violent, 457; ON. brāðr.
brouden, *v.* brauden.

brouderde, *pp.* embroidered, 91; broudirde, 96; *cp.* OF. brouder.
broun, burnished, 113; **brown**, 158; OE. brūn.
Bruyttus, Brutus, 1.
brydells, 208; OE. brīdel.
bryghte, *v.* **brighte**.
bryng, *inf.* 405; *imp. s.* 484; **brynge**, 480; *pt. pl.* **broghte**, 197; *pp.* 332; OE. bringan.
brynneth, *pr.* 3 *s. impers.* it burns, 357; OE. brinnan; *cp.* **brene**.
bukkes, bucks, 405; OE. buc.
buklede, *v.* **bocled**.
buk-tayles, buck-tails, 333; OE. buc, tægl.
bulles, papal bulls, 144; Lat. bulla.
burde, *v.* **borde**.
burgh, town, 470; OE. burh.
busked, *pp.* accoutred, 110; ON. būask.
but, *v.* **bot**.
buturs, bitterns, 349; **botours**, 379; OF. butor.
by, 4; **bi**, 33; **be**, 176, 307, 466; **by**, by means of, 83; OE. bī.
by, *inf.* buy, 393, 425; OE. bycgan.
by-fore, *v.* **be-fore**.
by-hynde, *v.* **be-hynde**.
bynche, bench, 87; *pl.* **bynches**, 314; OE. benc.
byrddes, *v.* **birdes**.
by-twene, *prep.* 41, 219; **by-twen**, 356; OE. bitwēonum.
by-twixe, between (*heading*), 1; OE. be-twyx.
by-tyde, *v.* **be-tyde**.

caban, cabin, tent, pavilion, 59; **cabane**, 83; OF. cabane.
cache, *inf.* take, gather, 274; ONF. cachier.
calles, *pr. pl.* call, 242; ON. kalla.
cane, *pr.* 1 *s.* can, 223; **kan**, 452; know, 176; 3 *s.* **can**, can, 26; **kane**, 30; *pt.* 1 *s.* **couthe**, 308; *pl.* 21; OE. cunnan.
capill, horse, nag, 240; ON. kapall.
cardynalls, 462; OF. cardinal.
care, *n.* 233; OE. cearu.
Carmes, Carmelites, 176; OF. carme.
carpe, *inf.* speak, 452; *pt.* 3 *s.* **kerpede**, 218; ON. karpa.
case, chance, 448; OF. cas.
casten, *pp.* arranged, divided, 77; ON. kasta.
[caudel]s, hot broths, 353; OF. chaudel.
cayre, *inf.* go, 240, 468; **kayren**, 502; *pr. pl.* 210; ON. keyra.
caytef, wretch, 425; **cayteffe**, 233; ONF. caitif.
cely, simple, 414; OE. (ge)sælig.
certys, truly, 221; OF. certes.
chambre, room, 474; OF. chambre.
charbiande, roasted, 336; (?) = charbinade, charbonade; OF. charbonade, a piece of meat grilled on the coals.
chechun, badge, escutcheon, 116; *aphetic form of* ONF. escuchon.
chepe, market, 474; OE. cēap; *cp.* Cheapside.
chepe = schepe, sheep, 481; OE. scēap.
chere, disposition, frame of mind, 383; **appon c.**, ? in appearance, 24; OF. chere.
chese, *inf.* choose, 496; **c. þe**, *imp. s.* betake thyself, 474; OE. cēosan.
chewettes, dishes made of chopped meat, 336; (?) *deriv.*
childe, 24; *pl.* **children**, 398; OE. cild.
choppede, *pp.* 336; ? *cp.* MDu. cappen.
chyn-wedys, beard, 24; OE. cin, wǣde.
clade, *pp.* clad, 90; OE. clǣðan, *cp.* clothes.
clene, bright, 81; *adv.* 112; completely, 486; OE. clǣne.

[cleng]and[e], congealing, 275; OE. *clengan.
clenly, entirely, exactly, 77; OE. clǣnlīce.
clepen, *pr. pl.* call, 355; OE. cleopian.
clerke, 293; *pl.* **clerkes**, 315; OF. clerc.
cleuen, *pp.* cloven, 340; OE. clēofan.
clothe, cloth, 485; *pl.* **clothes**, clothes, 425; OE. clāþ.
clothes, *pr.* 3 *s.* 205; OE. clāðian; *cp.* clade.
clyffe, 59; OE. clif.
cofers, chests, 298; OF. cofre.
Colayne, Cologne, 503.
colde, 293; OE. ceald; Angl. cald.
co[me], *inf.* 468; *pr.* 3 *s.* **comes**, 338; *pt.* 1 *s.* **come**, 502; 3 *s.* 312, 402; *pt.* 3 *s. subj.* 55, 253; OE. cuman.
comforth, *inf.* comfort, 479; OF. conforter.
comly, *adj.* 203; **comely**, 199; **comliche**, 86; *adv.* 90; OE. cymlīc.
conynges, rabbits, 353; OF. conin; AF. coning.
coppe, cup, 448; OE. cuppe.
corde, 145; OF. corde.
corne, 233; *pl.* **cornes**, crops, 274; OE. corn.
cornere, 81; OF. cornier; AF. corner.
coste, *pt. pl.* 271; *pp.* 425; OF. coster.
coursers, chargers, 203; OF. corsier.
couthe, *v.* cane.
crafte, skill, art, 176; OE. cræft.
craftyly, skilfully, 151; OE. cræftiglīce.
cramynge, cramming, 255; OE. crammian + -ing.
creste, 59; *pl.* (*heraldic*) **crestys**, 51; OF. creste.
crete, Cretan wine, 479.
Cristes, Christ's, 297; **Cristis**, 255; OE. Crist.
croked, *pp.* curled, 151; ON. krōkr, *n.*
crowned, *pp.* 86; AF. corouner.
custadis, custards, 353; OF. croustade.
cuttede, castrated, 240; ? *cp.* Sw. dial. kåta, kuta.

daderande, trembling, 97; *deriv. unknown*; *cp.* dodder.
dadillyng, chattering, 44; *cp.* diddering = chattering of teeth.
dale, a dealing out of money in charity, 303, 305; OE. dāl.
dare, *pr.* 3 *s.* 8; *pt.* 2 *s.* **durste**, venturedst on, 303; OE. durran.
[daryo]ls, pasties, 354; OF. dariole.
daye, lifetime, 303; OE. dæg.
dayntethes, dainties, 330; OF. daintiet.
ded, deed, 499; *pl.* **dedis**, 292; OE. dǣd.
dede, death, 313; OE. dēaþ; *cp.* Sw., Dan. död.
dede, dead, 276; **d. monethe**, the unproductive months of the year; OE. dēad.
dede-day, death-day, 441; OE. dēaþ-dæg.
dedly, deadly, 313; OE. dēadlīc.
dele, *n.* part, 4; OE. dǣl.
dele, *inf.* deal, 103, 153, 345; **delyn**, divide, 441; *pr. pl.* deal, 5; OE. dælan.
deme, *inf.* judge, 220; *imp. s.* 244, 453; *pr.* 3 *s.* **d[em]eth**, thinks fit, 201; OE. dēman.
depe, deep, 44; OE. dēop.
dere, expensive, 354, 494; OE. dēore.
derne, darkness, 413; OE. derne.
dethe, death, 196; OE. dēaþ.

deuyll, devil, 441; **the d. wounder,** no wonder at all, 236; OE. dēofol.
dide, *v.* do.
dighte, *inf.* ordain, appoint, 330; OE. dihtan.
dische-metis, dish-meats, pies, 354; OE. disc, mete.
disches, 342; OE. disc.
disturbe, *inf.* 129; **distourbe,** 318; OF. destourber.
do, *inf.* 499; *pr.* 3 *s.* **dose,** 305; **dothe,** 109; *imp. s.* **doo,** cause, 478; *pl.* **dothe,** 220; *pt.* 3*s.* **dide,** did, 451; *pp.* **done,** 290; **don,** 488; OE. dōn.
doke, portion, 337; *cp.* docket, piece; Fris. dok, LG. dokke, bundle.
domesdaye, doomsday, 17; OE. dōmes dæg.
Domynyke, S. Dominic, founder of the Dominican Friars, 167.
doo, don, dose, dothe, *v.* do.
doun, down, 13, 109; **downn,** 235; OE. (of) dūne.
dowfehowses, dove-cots, 235; OE. dūfe, hūs.
drakes, 97; OE. *draca; *cp.* OHG. antrahho; Sw. (*from* LG.) and-drake.
draweth, *pr.* 3*s.* 17; OE. dragan.
drede, *inf.* fear, 322; *aphetic form of* OE. ondrēdan.
dredfull, 17; *cp.* **drede.**
Drightyns, the Lord's, 244; OE. dryhten.
droghte, drought, 312; OE. drūgaþ.
dropeles, dropless, rainless, 276; OE. dropa + -less.
drownede, *pp.* 312; OE. druncnian.
dry, 478; **drye,** 235; OE. drȳge.
drye, drought, 276; OE. drȳge, *adj.*
drynk, *inf.* 478; *pp.* **dronken,** 488; OE. drincan.
dub, *inf.* 499; *pt.* 1 *s.* **dubbede,** 103; *aphetic form of* OF. aduber.
duell, *inf.* dwell, 453; **duelle,** 458; *pr.* 3*s.* **dwellys,** pauses, 109; *pl.* **duellen,** abide, 140; *imp. s.* **duell,** 488; OE. dwellan.
dukkes, 97; OE. duce.
dures, *pr.* 3*s.* lasts, 108; OF. durer.
durste, *v.* **dare.**
dwellys, *v.* **duell.**
dyn, 44; OE. dyne.
dyne, *inf.* dine, 330; OF. disner, dîner.
dynttis, blows, 103; OE. dynt.

eghe, put owte his e. *i. e.* deceive him, 487; *pl.* **eghne,** 45; OE. ēage.
egretes, herons, 494; OF. aigrette, egrette.
eke, also, 15; OE. ēac.
eld, *n.* old age, 10; OE. eld(o).
ells, else, 56; OE. elles.
ende, *n.* 262; region, 47; OE. ende.
endes, *pr.* 3 *s.* 217; OE. endian.
endityde, *pp.* indicted, 313; AF. enditer.
ensample, 421; OF. essample.
ere, *v.* be.
ermyn, 412; OF. ermine.
erthe, 371; OE. eorðe.
[e]schewes, *pr.* 3*s.* shuns, avoids, 422; AF. escheuer, OF. eschiver, OHG. sciuhan, to shy at.
Estirlynges, Easterlings, natives of Eastern Germany, Hanse merchants, 141; *cp.* Du. oosterling.
estres, retreats, recesses, 403; OF. estre.
euen, Missomer e., the evening before Midsummer Day, 166; *pl.* **euenes,** eves, 310; OE. æfen.
euer, ever, 23; OE. æfre.

fadir, father, 451; *pl.* **fadirs,** 273; OE. fæder.
faire, *adv.* 226; **fayre,** 66, 82; *adj. sup.* **faireste,** 174; OE. fæger.
falles, *pr.* 3 *s.* 378, 448; *pl.* **fallyn,** 210; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* **falle,** 198; *pt. pl. ind.* **felle,** 53; OE. feallan.
false, 228; OF. fals.
fare, *imp. s.* go, 207; OE. faran.
fare, good cheer, 295; OE. fær.
faste, *adv.* 217; OE. fæste.
fatt, 481; OE. fætt.
fawked, *pp.* seized (by the 'fawcons'), 98; ? *cp.* OF. fauque, sickle.
fawkons, falcons, 92; **fawcons,** 98; OF. faucon.
fayled, *pt.* 3 *s.* 155; **faylede,** 102; OF. faillir.
faylynge, *n.* 291; OF. faillir + -ing.
fayne, glad, 402; OE. fægen.
fayntnesse, 7; OF. faint + -ness.
fayre, *v.* **faire.**
fayth, allegiance, 329; OF. feid.
feble, 323; OF. feble.
feche, *inf.* 449; *pr. pl.* 300; *imp. s.* 281; OE. feccan.
fede, *inf.* feed, 254, 464; *pr. pl.* **feden,** 295; *pp.* **fedde,** 206; OE. fēdan.
feghtyn, *v.* **fighte.**
felawes, companions, 329; late OE. fēolaga; ON. fēlagi.
felde, plain, field of battle, 123, 179; **one f.,** on the land, 287; *pl.* **feldes,** 288; OE. feld.
fele, many, 35; OE. fela.
felle, cruel, 228; OF. fel.
felle, *v.* **falles.**
ferd, *n.* fear, 416; ? *cp.* MHG. fērde; OE. fær.
ferdede, *pp.* assembled in battle array, 138; OE. ferd, *n.*
ferdere, more forward, more eager, 287; OE. furðor; *cp.* OE. feorr; *cp.* **forthe.**
ferdes, *gen. pl.* of the armies, 123; OE. ferd.
ferdnes, fear, 98; *cp.* **ferd.**
fere, companion, 311; OE. (ge)fēra.
ferlyeste, most wonderful, 102; OE. færlīc.
ferre, *adv.* far, 416; *comp.* **ferrere,** 451; *adj.* 311; [o]n **fere,** afar, 7; OE. feorr.
ferse, fierce, 148; OF. fers.
fesanttes, pheasants, 334; AF. fesant; OF. fesan.
festes, feasts, 295; OF. feste.
fete, *v.* **fote.**
fewles, fewlis, fewllys, *v.* **fowle.**
fey, doomed to death, dead, 159, 245, 300; OE. fæge.
fighte, *inf.* 245; *pr.* 3 *s.* **fightis,** 154; *pl.* **feghtyn,** 160; OE. feohtan.
fighte, *n.* 148; OE. feohte.
fill, *inf.* 355; *imp. s.* **fille,** 281; OE. fyllan; *cp.* **full.**
fire, 291; OE. fȳr.
fisches, 386; OE. fisc.
fitt, canto, 217; **fit,** 367; OE. fitt.
flakerande, flapping, 92; *cp.* OE. flacor, *adj.*
fled, *pt.* 3 *s.* 416; OE. flēon.
flesche, 336; OE. flæsc.
flete, *inf.* float, swim, 386; OE. flēotan.
flode, flood, water, 386; OE. flōd.
Florence, 281.
floures, flowers, 35; **flowres of Fraunce,** fleurs-de-lis, 78; OF. flour, flor.
flye, *inf.* fly, 384; OE. flēogan.
flyttynge (*more commonly* **flytynge**), debating, argument, 154; OE. flītan; *cp.* OE. flit.
fode, food, 291, 491; OE. fōda.
folde, ground, 174; OE. folde.
folde, *inf.* entwine, 35; OE. fealdan; OM. faldan.
fole, fool, 154; OF. fol.
foles, *v.* **fowle.**

folke, people, 123 ; OE. folc.
folowe, *inf.* 207 ; *pr.* 3 *s.* **folowes**, 327 : *pl.* **folowe**, 273 ; **foloen**, 502 ; OE. folgian.
fongen, *pp.* caught, 384 ; OE. fōn.
for, *conj.* 5 ; *prep.* 185 ; against, 275 ; **fore**, for, 283 ; OE. for.
forced, *pp.* made strong, 170 ; OF. forcer.
forfadirs, forefathers, 402 ; ON. forfaðir.
forgiffe, *inf.* 135 ; OE. forgiefan.
forthe, *adv.* 281, 384 ; **furthe**, 245 ; *comp.* **forthire**, 216 ; **forthe[r]**, 366 ; OE. forþ ; *cp.* **ferdere.**
for-thi, therefore, 11, 197 ; because, 286 ; OE. forðī.
forthir, *inf.* advance, strengthen, 429, 464 ; OE. fyrðran.
forthire, *v.* **forthe.**
foster, *inf.* feed, support, 464 ; *pp.* **fosterde**, 206 ; *pt. pl.* brought up, 273 ; OE. fōstrian.
fote, foot, 35, 375 ; *pl.* **fete**, 98 ; OE. fōt.
founden, *v.* **fynde.**
foure, 77 ; OE. fēower.
fourme, form, nest of a hare, 14 ; OF. fourme, forme.
fourmed, *pp.* 66 ; OF. fourmer.
fourte, 163 ; OE. fēorða.
fowle, *coll. pl.* fowl, 346 ; *pl.* **foles**, 40 ; **fewles**, 96 ; **fewlis**, 384 ; **fewlys**, 91 ; **fewllys**, 44 ; OE. fugol.
Fraunce, 78.
Fraunceys, St. Francis of Assisi, 170 ; *gen. s.* **Franceys**, 159.
free, happy, noble, 434 ; **fre**, 272 ; OE. frēo.
freke, man, 287 ; *pl.* **frekes**, 102 ; OE. freca, warrior.
frenchipe, kinship, 7 ; *cp.* ON. frændi.
frende, 402 ; advocate, 155 ; *pl.* **frendes**, friends, 240 ; OE. frēond.
freres, friars, 300 ; **freris**, 179 ; OF. frere.
fresche, bright, 66 ; vigorous, 160 ; OF. fresche, *f.*
freschely, briskly, 217 ; OF. fresche + -ly.
[fr]ete, *inf.* eat, 386 ; OE. fretan.
fro, *prep.* from, 38, 161 ; *conj.* as soon as, 26, 200 ; ON. frā.
frostes, 275 ; OE. frost.
frumentee, a dish made of wheat boiled in milk, 334 ; OF. frumentée.
Frydaye, 311 ; OE. frīgedæg.
full, *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* fill, 217, 367 ; OE. fullian, fyllan ; *cp.* **fill.**
full, *adv.* 37 ; **ful**, 354 ; OE. full.
furthe, *v.* **forthe.**
fyfte, fifth, 174 ; OE. fīfta.
fynd, fiend, devil, 487 ; OE. fēond.
fynde, *inf.* invent, 21 ; maintain, 428 ; find, 390 ; *pp.* **founden**, 155 ; OE. findan.
fyne, 92 ; OF. fin.
fynger, 480 ; OE. finger.
fyve, 206 ; OE. fīf, fīfe.
fyvetene, fifteen, 451 ; OE. fīftēne.

gadir, *pr.* 1 *s.* gather, 227 ; **gedir**, 231 ; *pp.* **gadird**, 432 ; OE. gæderian.
gale[g]s, galoches, 157 ; *see Note.*
gan, *pt.* 3 *pl.* did, 35 ; *aphetic form of* OE. onginnan.
gartare, 63 ; *pl.* **garters of Inde**, blue garters of the 'Order of the Garter', 62 ; OF. gartier.
gate, highway, 359 ; ON. gata.
gayly, 62 ; OF. gai + -ly.
gedir, *v.* **gadir.**
gerede, *pp.* adorned, 63 ; ON. gervi, *n.*
gete, *inf.* get, 173 ; *pr.* 2 *s.* **getys**, 440 ; *pp.* **getyn**, 269 ; ON. geta.
gett, fashion, 410 ; OF. jet.

giff, *v.* gyf.
giftes, 500; ON. gift.
gilt, guilt, 135; OE. gylt.
girde, *pp.* girt, 95; OE. gyrdan.
girdills, 271; OE. gyrdel.
glade, glad, 440; OE. glæd.
glades, *pr.* 3 *s.* is glad, 227; gladdes, makes glad, 391; OE. gladian.
glene, *pr.* 1 *s.* glean, 231; OF. glener.
go, *v.* goo.
God, 173; OE. god.
god, gode, *v.* gud.
gold, 118; golde, 61; OE. gold.
gome, man, 118, 359; OE. guma.
goo, *inf.* go, 231, 406; *imp. s.* go, 105; OE. gān.
goullyng, howling, 359; ON. gaula.
grace, 135; OF. grace.
grant, *inf.* 399; graunte, 371; AF. graunter; OF. graanter, craanter.
gray, 381; OE. grǣg.
grene, green, 48; OE. grēne.
grete, great, 94, 122; *adv.* 224; OE. grēat.
greues, *pr.* 3 *s.* grieves, 391; OF. grever.
grewell, gruel, 381; OF. gruel.
grounde, *n.* 173; OE. grund.
grounden, *pp.* ground, *i. e.* consumed, 269; OE. grindan.
grow, *inf.* 399; growe, 371; *pr.* 3 *s.* growes, 397; OE. grōwan.
gud, good, 383; gode, 440; god, 1 (*heading*); gude, 381; *used as n.* 271; *pl.* gudes, 265; gudis, 441; *sup.* beste, 110, 315; *adv.* wele, 28, 161. 496; *comp.* better, 247; bettir, 225; *sup.* beste, 30, 125; OE. gōd.
gyf, *inf.* give, 421; giff, 500; *pp.* gyffen, 269; OE. giefan; ON. gefa.
ȝalowe, yellow, 75; OE. geolu.
ȝape, cunning, skilful, 75; *sup.* ȝapeste, 119; OE. gēap.
ȝarked, *pp.* made, 75; OE. gearcian.
ȝe, ye, 134; *dat. acc.* ȝow, 135; ȝowe, 228; yow, 31; OE. gē.
ȝee, yea, 246; OE. gēa.
ȝeme, *inf.* look after, protect, 114, 152, 419; *pr. pl.* ȝemes, 376; OE. gēman.
ȝerdes, enclosures, 289; OE. geard.
ȝere, year, 374; *gen. s.* ȝeris, 387; *pl.* 119; OE. ȝēar.
ȝit, yet, 454; ȝitt, 174; OE. git.
ȝondere, *adj.* yonder, 105; *adv.* 143; *cp.* OE. geond, *adv.*
ȝonge, young, 398; *sup.* ȝongeste, 119; OE. geong.
ȝore, long ago, 321; OE. gēara.
ȝour, your, 355; OE. ēower.
ȝow, ȝowe, *v.* ȝe.

had, haden, *v.* hafe.
hafe, *inf.* have, 256, 444; *pr.* 1 *s.* 136; 2 *s.* haste, 248, 261; hase, 250; 3 *s.* has, 158; hase, 145; hathe, 3, 323; hath, 297; *pl.* hafe, 271; *pr.* 2 *s. subj.* haue, 269; 3 *s.* 68; hafe, 485; *imp. s.* 290; *pt. pl.* had, 404, 409; [h]ade, 438; haden, 272; OE. habban; *cp.* nade.
halfe, 387; OE. healf.
halpeny, 387; OE. healf-penig; *cp.* peny.
hande, 121; honde, 87; appone h., at hand, 12; *pl.* handes, 211; OE. hand, hond.
handil, *inf.* 413; OE. handlian.
hanged, *v.* honge.
happede, *pp.* wrapped up, hidden, 298; ? *cp.* LG. happen, Fris. happe, to clutch.
harde, *adj.* 51, 374; *adv.* 12, 435, 454; OE. heard.
hare, 404; *pl.* hares, 14; OE. hara.

harme, evil, 68; OE. hearm.
harmes, *pr.* 3 *s.* it harms, 454; OE. hearmian.
has, hase, *v.* **hafe.**
haste, *v.* hafe.
hasteletez, haslets, 492; OF. hastelet, meat roasted on a spit (OF. haste).
hate, *pr.* 1 *s.* 455; OE. hatian.
hat[e]full, hateful, 73; *cp.* **hate.**
hates, *pl.* angry feelings, 219; OE. hete; *cp.* hatian, *vb.*; ON. hatr.
hath, hathe, *v.* hafe.
hathell, man, 68; OE. æðele.
hatt, hatten, *v.* **hete.**
hatte, hat, 72; *pl.* **hattes**, 51; OE. hæt.
haule, hall, 364; OE. heall.
hauánde, worth having, 323; ON. hafandi.
haue, *v.* **hafe.**
hawberkes, coats of mail, 50; OF. hauberc; OHG. halsberg.
hawthorne, 36; OE. hagaþorn.
he, 10; *dat. acc.* **hym**, 69, 101.
he, *v.* **hye.**
hede, head, 36, 147; *pl.* **hedes**, 51; **hedis**, 150; OE. hēafod; *cp.* **bede-hede, bore-hedis.**
hedir, hither, 197; **hedire**, 162; OE. hider; ON. heðra.
hee, *interj.* 282; *cp.* F. hé.
heghe, *v.* **hye.**
heghwalles, woodpeckers, 38; ?*onomatopœic*; ? *cp.* **wodwales.**
held, *v.* **holden.**
helle, 260; OE. hel.
helme, helmet, 72; *pl.* **helmys**, 51; OE. helm.
helpe, *n.* 361; OE. help.
helpe, *inf.* 154; *pr.* 3 *s.* **helpis**, 222; OE. helpan.
heltre, halter, 418; OE. hælftre.
helys, heels, 450; OE. hēla.
hen, 482; **hene**, 347; **henne**, 387; *pl.* **henne[s]**, 492; OE. henn.
hend, gracious one, 419; OE. (ge)hende.
hengeth, *pr.* 3 *s.* hangs, 184; **hynges**, 251; *pp.* **hynged**, 145; ON. hengja; *cp.* **honge.**
henne, *v.* **hen.**
henppe, hemp, 145; OE. henep.
henttis, *pr.* 3 *s.* takes, 211; 3 *s. subj.* **hent**, 447; OE. hentan.
herd, herde, *v.* **here.**
herdmans, herdsman's, 364; OE. heord, mann.
here, army, 50, 58, 196; OE. here.
here, *inf.* hear, 9, 220, 359; *pr.* 2 *s.* **heris**, 319; *pt.* 1 *s.* **herd**, 364; 3 *s.* **herde**, 23; OE. hīeran; OAngl. hēran.
here, *adv.* 19; OE. hēr; *cp.* **heres.**
heres, ? gentles, 212; OE. herra; *possibly a scribal error for* 'here'.
heris, *v.* **here**, *inf.*
herons, 492; OF. hairon.
hert, 7; [herte], 454; *pl.* **hertis**, 20; OE. heorte.
herthe-stones, 14; OE. heorþ, stān.
herueste, corn crop, 274; OE. hærfest.
heselis, hazels, 38; ON. hesli.
hete, *inf.* promise, 279; *pr.* 3 *s.* **hetys**, bids, 211; 1 *s.* **hatt**, am called, 222; *pl.* **hatten**, 218; OE. hātan, hātte.
hethe, heath, field, 196; OE. hæþ.
hethyng, scorn, dishonour, *translating* 'honi' *in the motto of the* '*Garter*'), 68; ON. hæðing.
heuen, heaven, 244; *gen. s.* 361; OE. heofon.
hewen, *pp.* hewn, 196; OE. hēawan.
hidde, *pp.* 298; OE. hȳdan.
hightilde, *pp.* put in order, settled, 438; *prob.* = eghtilde, ME. ahtlian; *cp.* ON. ætla, *its form being due to* hiȝtlien, to adorn.

hill, mound, 36; OE. hyll.
hillede, *pt.* 3 *s.* covered, 76; ON. hylja.
hipped, *pt.* 3 *pl.* hopped, 38; OE. *hyppan; *cp.* MHG. hüpfen.
hir, *pron. poss.* her, 418; OE. hiere.
hir, *v.* **scho.**
hire, their, 14; **hir**, 16; OE. hiera.
his, 9; OE. his.
hodirde, *pp.* huddled, covered up, 298; *cp.* LG. hudern.
holden, *inf.* 10; *pr.* 1 *s.* **holde**, 154; **hold**, 446; 3 *s. subj.* 447; *pt.* 3 *s.* **held**, 419; OE. healdan; OAngl. haldan.
holte, wood, 50; **holt**, wooded hill, 70; OE. holt, a wood; ON. holt, a wooded hill.
holy, 147; OE. hālig.
home, 161, 467; OE. hām.
honde, *v.* **hande.**
honge, *inf.* hang, 374; *pp.* **hanged**, 260; OE. hangian, **hongian**; *cp.* **hengeth.**
hope, *inf.* expect, 374; *pr.* 1 *s.* 12, 147; *imp. s.* 290; OE. hopian.
hore, grey-haired, 10; OE. hār.
horse, 467; *pl.* **ho[r]ses**, 237; OE. hors.
hotte, 444, 482; **hote**, 219, 351; OE. hāt.
house, 212; **howse**, 347; *pl.* **houses**, 438; OE. hūs.
houes, *pr.* 3 *s.* remains, 105, 143; *pl.* 123; *deriv. unknown*; ? *cp.* OE. hōf, *pt. s.*
how, 233; OE. hū.
howes, lawyers' caps, 150; OE. hūfe.
howndes, 237; OE. hund.
howse, *v.* **house.**
hungere, *n.* 237; OE. hungor.
hungry, 482; OE. hungrig.
hurcle, *inf.* crouch, 14; *cp.* MLG. hurken.
hurd[i]es, 'hurdies', buttocks, 436; *deriv. unknown*; *not recorded in ME.*; *earliest instance in NED. is Lyndesay's Satyre*, 1535.
hy, *v.* **hyes.**
hye, high, 246; **heghe**, 237; **one h.**, on high, 40; **of he**, 64; *adv.* **hye**, 372; **heghe**, 358; OE. hēah.
hyes, *pr.* 3 *s.* hastens, 453; **hyeghte**, 12; 2 *s. subj.* **hy**, 467; OE. hīgian.
hym, *v.* **he.**
hym-seluen, 28; OE. him selfum.
hyne, servants, retainers, 212, 438; OE. *pl.* hīwan, *gen.* hīna.
hynged, hynges, *v.* **hengeth.**
hyrne, corner, 238; OE. hyrne.

I, 12; [**I**], 227; *dat. acc.* **me**, 31, 47; OE. ic.
iche (*with* **a**), each, 63, 81, 249; [**iche**], 359; OE. ǣlc.
ichone, each one, 62, 93; **icheon**, 6; OE. ǣlc + ān.
if, 131; although, 391; OE. gif; *cp.* **bot.**
in, *prep.* 3; into, 53; *adv.* 281; OE. in.
inde, blue, 62; OF. inde.
in-to, 261; OE. in tō.
in-with, *adv.* within, 117; OE. in + wiþ.
iren, iron, 185; **yren**, 111; OE. īren.
[**irous**], fierce, 79; AF. irous.
it, 1, 12; OE. hit.
itwyste, *adv.* betwixt, 317; OE. in + (be)twyx + -t.

jangle, *inf.* chatter, 26; *pt.* 3 *s.* **janglede**, 40; OF. jangler.
japes, jests, merry tales, 26; OF. japer, to bark, *with sense of* OF. gaber, to mock.
jarmede, *pt.* 3 *pl.* = charmed, sang, 40; OE. cirman; *cp.* jarme, EDD.

jay, 40; **jaye**, 26; OF. jay.
Joseph, 419.
joynede, *pp.* fastened, closed, 115; OF. joign-, *stem of* joindre.
jupown, tunic, 115; OF. jupon.
juste, well-fitting, 115; OF. juste.

kan, **kane**, *v.* cane.
katour, caterer, buyer, 491; *aphetic form of* ANorm. acatour.
kayren, *v.* cayre.
kaysser, emperor, 327; ON. keisari.
kembid, *pp.* combed, 151; OE. cemban.
ken, *pr.* 3 *pl.* know, 462; *imp. s.* teach, direct, 479, 491; OE. cennan.
kene, keen, 237, 275; *adv.* 74; OE. cēne.
kepe, *inf.* care for, protect, 462; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* 69, 124; late OE. cēpan.
kerpede, *v.* carpe.
kiddes, 340; ON. kið; Sw., Dan. kid.
kirke, church, 147, 503; OE. circe; ON. kirkja.
kirtill, tunic, 90; OE. cyrtel.
knave, servant, 485; OE. cnafa.
knawen, *inf.* know, find out, 491; *pr.* 1 *s.* knowe, 468; kn[o]we, 187; *pl.* knowe, 205; knowes, 490; *pt.* 1 *s.* knewe, 83; *pp.* knawen, 29; knawenn, 326; knowen, 315; OE. cnāwan.
knees, 210; OE. cnēo.
knoke, blow, 485; late OE. cnocian, *vb.*
knoppe, nob, 81; *cp.* OE. cnæp, ON. knappr, Dan. knop, Sw. knopp.
knowe, **knowen**, *v.* knawen.
knyghte, 103; *pl.* knyghtis, 203, 502; OE. cniht.
kydde, *v.* kythe.
kynde, nature; **in the k.**, naturally, 117; OE. (ge)cynde.
kynde, natural, fitting, 274; OE. (ge)cynde.
kyng, 69; *gen. pl.* **kynges**, 3; OE. cyning.
kyngdome, 132; OE. cyningdōm.
kystes, chests, 255; ON. kista.
kyth, country, 124; **kythe**, something made known, rule, 134; OE. cȳþþ, knowledge; country.
kythe, *inf.* declare, 104; *imp. pl.* 218; *pp.* kydde, 315; [kydde], renowned, 132; OE. cȳðan.

lache, *inf.* take, 406; *pr.* 2 *s. subj.* [lache], 469; *pt.* 3 *s.* laughte, 286; OE. læccan.
ladde, man of low birth, 388; *pl.* **laddes on fote**, footmen, 375; *deriv. unknown.*
lady, 177; *pl.* **ladyes**, 16; OE. hlǣfdige.
lande, *v.* launde.
lanterne, 306; OF. lanterne.
laped, *pt.* 3 *s.* wrapped, covered, 111; *pp.* lapped, 350; *cp.* OE. læppa, a fold of a garment.
larkes, 350; OE. lāferce; *cp.* Sw. lärka, Dan. lerke.
lasteth, *pr.* 3 *s.* 8; OE. lǣstan.
late, *adv.* 306; *comp.* **lattere**; **neuer þe l.**, nevertheless, 29; *adj. sup.* **laste**, 29; **last[e]**, 399; OE. late.
late, *inf.* let, 406; *pr.* 3 *s.* **lattys**, 231; *imp. s.* late, 256, 263, 320; let, 255; *pp.* **lett of**, esteemed, 27; OE. lǣtan.
laughte, *v.* lache.
launde, lawn, 54; **lande**, 48, 405; OF. launde.
lawe, hill, 49; OE. hlāw.
lawe, low, 111, 139; **one-lowe**, below, 80; ON. lāgr.
lawes, laws, 152; ON. *lagu, lǫg; late OE. lagu.
laye, *inf.* 284; *pt.* 1 *s.* **layde**, 36 OE. lecgan.
laye, *v.* lygge.

lebarde, leopard, (*heraldic*) lion drawn full-faced, the crest of Edward III, 74; *pl.* **leberdes,** 80; OF. lebard.

lede, *n.* leaden seal, 146; OE. lēad.

lede, man, 108, 466; *pl.* **ledis,** 88; **ledys,** 29; l[e]des, 54, 223; **lede,** nation, people, 369, 469; OE. lēod, *m.* man; lēode, *pl.* people; lēod, *f.* nation.

lede, *inf.* lead, 16, 128; *pr.* 2 *s.* **ledis,** 270; 3 *s.* 148; **ledith,** 171; OE. lǣdan.

ledyng, 223; OE. lǣdan + -ing.

leefe, willing, 465; OE. lēof.

lefe, *n.* leave, 469; OE. lēaf.

legges, 111; ON. leggr.

legyance, allegiance, 501; OF. legeance.

lelely, loyally, 430; OF. leel + -ly.

leman, mistress, wife, 428; OE. lēof + mann.

lengare, lengeste, *v.* **longe.**

lenge, *inf.* dwell, 469; OE. lengan.

lengthe, 49; OE. lengðu.

lere, *inf.* teach, 223; OE. lǣran.

lesse, lest, 98; l. [þat], 395; OE. ðȳ lǣs ðe.

let, lett, *v.* **late.**

lethire, leather, 184; OE. leðer.

lettres, 66, 466; OF. lettre.

leue, *inf.* leave, 422; *pt.* 3 *s.* **leuede,** 286; OE. lǣfan.

leue, *imp. s.* believe, 259; *pp.* **leuede,** 27; OE. gelīefan; OAngl. lēfan.

ley, untilled, 234; ? OE. *lǣge; *cp.* lǣg-hrycg.

life, *v.* **lyfe, lyve.**

liggen, ligges, *v.* **lygge.**

lighte, swift, 74; OE. lēoht.

lighte, bright, 306; OE. lēoht.

lightten, *inf.* cheer, 406; *pr. pl.* **lighten,** dismount, 209; OE. līhtan.

liste, *pr. impers.* it pleases, 378; OE. lystan.

[lite], few, 369; OE. lȳt.

littill-whattes, *pl.* trifles, little, 225; early ME. litles (*gen. s.*), hwat.

lofte, appon l., one l., on high, 72, 80; ON. loft; late OE. loft.

loken, *v.* **lowked.**

lokes, *pr.* 3 *s.* looks, 456; **lukes,** 324; *imp. s.* **loke,** 466, 475; **luke,** 485; *pr. p.* **lokande,** 74; OE. lōcian.

lokkes, 71; OE. loc.

lomes, tools, 234; OE. (ge)lōma.

lond, land, 459; **londe,** 133, 388; in l. (*expletive*), 16; *pl.* **londes,** 234; OE. land, lond.

longe, *adj.* 74; *adv.* 243; *comp.* **lenger,** 488; **lengare,** 259; *sup.* **lengeste,** 449; OE. lang, long.

loo, *interj.* 124; OE. lā.

lorde, 69; *pl.* **lordes,** 20; **lordis,** 375; OE. hlāford.

Lorreyne, 139.

losse, *inf.* lose, 133; OE. losian.

loue, *n.* love, 244; **lufe,** 255; OE. lufu.

loue, *inf.* love, 430; *pr.* 1 *s.* **lufe,** 225; 2 *s.* **loueste,** 328; 3 *s.* **loueth,** 88; *pl.* **louen,** 177; **lufen,** 501; *pt.* 2 *s.* **louediste,** 304; 3 *s.* **louede,** 286; *pl.* **loued,** 20; *pp.* 459; **louede,** 27; OE. lufian.

loueliche, lovely, 48; *sup.* **louelyeste,** 88; *adv.* **louely,** lovingly, 456; OE. luflic.

lowked, *pt. pl.* shut, 45; *pp.* **loken,** enclosed, 49; OE. lūcan.

lufe, lufen, *v.* **loue.**

luke, lukes, *v.* **lokes.**

Lumbardye, 139.

lyes, *v.* **lygge.**

lyfe, *n.* 133; **life,** 108; **lyue,** 385; OE. līf.

lyfe, *v.* **lyve.**

lygge, *inf.* lie, 463; *pr.* 3 *s.* lyes, is fitting, 428; *pl.* liggen, lie, 234; ligges, 503; *pt.* 1 *s.* laye, 45; 3 *s.* 49; OE. licgan.

lykes, *pr.* 3 *s.* is pleasing to, 279, 352, 495; lyketh, 125; OE. līcian.

lympe, *inf.* become, 369; *pr.* 3 *s.* lympis, it befalls, 284; lympes, comes, 449; OE. limpan.

lyngwhittes, linnets, 350; OE. līnetwīge.

lyue, *v.* lyfe.

lyve, *inf.* 225; life, 243; lyfe, 375, 449; *pr.* 2 *s. subj.* 259; OE. libban; OAngl. lifian.

machen, *inf.* match, 172; OE. (ge)mæcca, *n.*

madde, mad, 446; OE. (ge)-mǣd(e)d.

mak[ande], comfort, competence, 446, *cp.* ON. makindi.

make, *inf.* 373, 431; *pr.* 3 *pl.* maken, 303; *pt.* 2 *s.* madiste, 264; OE. macian.

makers, 21; OE. macian + -er.

man, 28; *pl.* men, 193; *gen.* mens, 337; OE. mann.

mantill, 90; OF. mantel; ON. mǫttull.

many, 4; OE. manig.

marchandes, *v.* merchandes.

mare, more, 305; *sup.* moste, 166; *adv. comp.* more, 28; *sup.* moste, 345; OE. māra.

Martynmesse, the feast of St. Martin, Nov. 11; **M. mete**, meat salted at Martinmas, 345; Martin + OE. mæsse.

mater, matter, 264; *pl.* matirs, subjects for poetry, 21; OF. matere.

mawes, stomachs, 355; OE. maga.

[mawme]ne, a rich dish, *perhaps so called from an ingredient of Malmsey wine*, 355.

mawngery, feast, 304; OF. mangerie.

may, *pr.* 3 *s.* 154; *pt.* 1 *s.* myghte, 43; OE. magan.

ma[z]e, the madness of midsummer, 166; *cp.* OE. āmasod, *pp.*

medewe, meadow, 34; OE. mǣd; *oblique case*, mǣdwe.

meles, meals, 365; OE. mǣl.

melleste, *pr.* 2 *s.* speakest, 264; OE. meðlan.

mend, *inf.* 383; AF. mender; OF. amender.

merchandes, *gen. s.* merchant's, 190; *pl.* marchandes, 377; OF. marchand; *cp.* merke.

merke, mark, boundary, place, 356; *pl.* merchandes merke[s], merchants' signs, 190; OE. mearc; OAngl. merc.

meruelle, marvellous, 344; OF. merveil.

mery, drunken, riotous, 365; OE. myrige.

mese, course, 344; *pl.* mese, dishes, 356; OF. mes.

mete, meat, 335, 345, 383; OE. mete.

mete, *inf.* meet, 52; OE. mētan.

Missomer euen, the evening before Midsummer Day, 166; OE. midsumor, ǣfen.

molde, earth, 172; OE. molde.

monethe, months, 276; OE. mōnaþ.

more, *v.* mare.

morow, the next day, 478; OE. morgen.

morsell, 383; OF. morsel.

moste, *pr.* 3 *s.* 283; OE. mōste, *pret. of* mōt.

moste, *v.* mare.

mournes, *pr.* 3 *s.* laments, cries (as in despair), 446; OE. murnan.

my, 35; **myn**, 32, 36; OE. mīn; *cp.* one.

myddis, middle, 95; *cp.* OE. tō middes.

myghte, *v.* may.
myle, 49; *pl.* 451; OE. mīl, *f.*
myn, *v.* my.
myndale, commemoration feast, 304; OE. (ge)mynd + ealu.
myrthe, 304; *pl.* myrthes, entertainments, 21; OE. myrgþ.
my-selfe, 99; my-seluen, 368; OE. mē self.
myster, need, 361; OF. mestier.

nappe, *inf.* nap. 43; *pr. pl.* nappen, 435; OE. hnappian.
ne, not, 10; nor, 9; n[e], 127; OE. ne.
nedles, unnecessary, 338; *adv.* nedeles, 401; OE. nēd + -less.
negardes, niggards, 435; *deriv. unknown*; *cp.* Norw. nigla, *vb.*
neghe, *inf.* approach, 19; *pr. pl. subj.* 106; *pr. p.* neghande, 43; OE. nēah, *adv.*
neghe, *adv.* nigh, 17, 19; *comp.* nerre, 106; OE. nēah.
nekke, 76; OE. hnecca.
nerre, *v.* neghe.
neuer, never, 4; OE. nǣfre.
new, 410; OE. nēowe.
newely, soon, 19; OE. nēowlīce.
no, 8; no noþer = non oþer, 12, 178; *adv.* none, 127; OE. nān.
noghte, not, 134; nott, 372; OE. nōwiht.
note, work, expenditure, 338; OE. notu.
nothir, neither, 327; OE. nōðer.
nott, *v.* noghte.
noþer, *v.* no.
now, 7; nowe, 4; OE. nū.
nowthir, neither, 201; OE. nōhwæðer, nōwðer.
nyghte, night, 43; nyȝte, 478; *pl.* nyghttis, 266; OE. niht.
nyn[d]e, ninth, 4; ON. nīundi.
nysely, foolishly, extravagantly, 410; OF. nice + -ly.
nysottes, wanton girls, 410; OF. nicette, *fem. of* nicet, *adj.*

of, 2, 98; with, 63; for, 426; in, 65; of he, on high, 64; off, from, 202; *adv.* off, 183; OE. of.
ofte, 241; OE. oft.
ogh, *v.* owethe.
oke, oak, 397; OE. āc.
one, on, 36, 40, 287, 467; on, 467; OE. an, on.
one, one, 67, 88, 107; *adv.* alone, 132, 135; myn one, by myself, 32; hir lyfe one, her life itself, 430; OE. ān, āne.
one-lowe, *v.* lawe.
ones, once, 31; one[s], 364; OE. ān + -es.
opynes, *pr.* 3 *s.* opens, 232; OE. openian.
or, 19; early ME. oðer.
or, before, 43, 84, 229, 486; are, 198, 269; formerly, 409; ON. ār; OE. ǣr.
ordire, order, 186; OF. ordre.
o[sul]les, ouzels, 494; OE. ōsle.
othere, 6, 179; othire, 38; oþer, 386; OE. ōðer.
oughte, anything, 186; OE. ōwiht.
oure, our, 69; OE. ūre.
ourlede, *pp.* bordered, 412; OF. orler.
ouer, over, 460; OE. ofer.
ouer-brade, *pp.* spread over, covered, 342; OE. oferbrǣdan.
owethe, *pr.* 3 *s.* owns, 199, 347; ogh, ought, 287; 3 *pl.* ow[es], owe, 329; *pt.* 3 *s.* aughte, owned, 1; OE. āgan.
ownn, 400; OE. āgen.
owt, 489; owte, 52; *comp.* vttire, 468; OE. ūt.
owthe, *v.* owethe.
owthire, *pron.* either, 245 owthir, 196; *conj.* or, 300; owthere, 290; OE. ōhwæðer ōwðer.

owttrage, excess, 267; OF. ultrage, outrage.

pale[y]s, palace, 498; OF. palais.
paradyse, 296; OF. paradis.
pared, *pp.* trimmed; **p. off rownde**, rounded off, 183; OF. parer.
Paris, 461; **Parys**, 498.
parischen, parishioners, 376; OF. paroisse + *suffix*.
parte, 256; OF. part.
passe, *inf.* go, 372; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* 476, 486; *imp. s.* 461; OF. passer.
pawnce, armour protecting the lower part of the body, 112; OF. pance; ONF. panche.
paye, *n.* pleasure; **ȝour wyfes to p.**, for your wives' pleasure, 408; OF. paie.
paye, *inf.* 486; *pr.* 3 *s.* **payes**, it pleases, 297, 433; *pl.* **payen**, pay, 427; *pp.* **payede**, 283; OF. payer.
payntten, *inf.* 301; *pp.* **payntted**, 65; OF. peindre, *pp.* peint.
pedders, pedlars, 377; *deriv. unknown*; *cp.* ME. ped, basket.
pelers, pillars, 301; OF. piler.
peloure, fur, 393; OF. pelure.
pendant[s], hanging ornaments, 183; OF. pendant.
peny, 487; OE. pening; late OE. penig; *cp.* **halpeny**.
penyles, penniless, 393; late OE. penig + -less.
peple, 256, 433; OF. peuple.
pergett, *inf.* plaster, 301; OF. parjeter.
perle, 81; OF. perle.
pertly, openly, 129; *aphetic form of* OF. apert + -ly.
pertrikes, partridges, 493; OF. perdriz, pertriz.
pese, peace, 55; OF. pais.
pik, *imp. s.* pick, 486; OE. pīcian.
plates, plate-armour, 114; OF. plate.
plente, abundance, 370; OF. plenté.
plesynge, 296; OF. plaisir.
plouers, plovers, 493; AF. plover; OF. plovier.
plunket, light blue (greyish blue woollen cloth), 65; OF. plunkié.
poles, pools, 235; OE. pōl.
polischede, *pp.* 112; OF. poliss-, *lengthened stem of* polir.
pompe, 422; OF. pompe.
pope, 169; OE. pāpa.
pore, *v.* **poure**.
pote[ner], purse, 476; *cp.* OF. pautonniere; *(see Note)*.
poure, poor, 393; **pore**, 256; OF. poore, poure.
pouerte, poverty, 422; **pouert**, 382; OF. poverte; Lat. *nom.* paupertas.
powere, armed force, 318; OF. poër.
poyntes, dots, 65; ends, 183; OF. point.
prayed, *pt.* 3 *pl.* 55; OF. preier.
prechours, preaching friars, Dominicans or Black Friars, 169; OF. precheor.
prelates, 376; OF. prélat.
prestes, priests, 376; OE. prēost.
pride, pomp, 417; **pryde**, 15; late OE. prȳte; *cp.* ON. prȳði; OF. prūt, prūd, *adj.*
prikkede, *pt.* 1 *s.*, spurred, rode, 318; OE. prician.
pris, price, worth, 372, 377; OF. pris.
priste, keen, urgent, 169; OF. prest.
proude, 498; **prowde**, 377; **prode**, 433; late OE. prūd; ON. prūðr; OF. prūd.
pryde, *v.* pride.
pryke, *pr.* 1 *s.* pin, secure, 232; OE. prician.
prynce, 55; OF. prince.

pryne, *pr.* 1 *s.* pin together, 232; OE. prēon, *n.*
pulled, *pp.* plucked, 493; OE. pullian.
Pultrie, the Poultry, Cheapside, 490; OF. pouletrie.
pure, 370; OF. pur.
purse, 162; OE. purs.
put, *imp. s.* 487; OE. putian.
pysayne, gorget, 112; OF. pizane, *adj. f.*

quarter[e]d, *pp.* divided up, 340; OF. quarter, *n.*
quarter[e]s (*heraldic*) 77; OF. quarter.
quod, *pt.* 3 *s.* said, 246; OE. cweðan.

rane, *pt.* 3 *s.* ran, 41; OE. rinnan.
ranke, excessive, 322; OE. ranc.
rathere, *comp.* sooner, 322; OE. hraðor.
raton[e]s, rats, 254; OF. raton.
raughten, *v.* rechen.
rawnsom, ransom, 363; OF. rançon, raunson.
r[axillen], stretch (in sleep), 436; OE. raxan + -le + -ing.
rayled, *pp.* adorned, 343; **raylede,** 60; OF. reiller.
raysen, *pr. pl.* 436; *imp. s.* **rayse,** 289; ON. reisa.
rechen, *pr. pl.* give, 363; *pt. pl.* **raughten,** reached, 42; OE. rǣcan.
rede, red, 60, 380; OE. rēad.
rede, *inf.* govern, 57; *pp.* **redde,** read, 23; OE. rǣdan.
redy, ready, 278; OE. (ge)-rǣde + -y.
refreyte, refrain, burden of a song, 1 (*heading*); OF. refrait.
reghte, *adv.* just, 165; OE. rehte.
rekken, *inf.* reckon, 192; OE. (ge)recenian.
reme, *inf.* weep, 258; OE. hrēman.
renke, man, 23; OE. rinc.
rent-howses, houses yielding rent, 289; OF. rente; OE. hūs.
repaste, 363; OF. repast.
rere, *imp. s.* rear, build, 474; *pp.* **rerede,** raised, 59; OE. rǣran.
reuere, river-bank, hawking-ground, 100; OF. rivere, reviere.
rewlyn, *inf.* rule, 57; OF. reuler.
rewme, realm, 128; OF. reaume.
rewthe, pity, 258; OE. hrēow + -th.
riche, 191; *comp.* **richere,** 322; *adv.* **riche,** 63; OE. rīca.
ridde, *inf.* part combatants, settle a broil, 57; ON. ryjða.
rigge, back, 340; OE. hrycg.
ristyth, *pr.* 3 *s.* lies, 200; OE. restan.
rode, rood, cross, 343; OE. rōd.
rode, *v.* ryde.
rofe, roof, 60, 251; OE. hrōf.
romance, 23; OF. romans.
Rome, 461.
roste, *n.* roast meat, 339; OF. rost.
rote, *inf.* rot, 254; OE. rotian.
roughe, 42; coarse, 380; OE. rūh.
roungen, *pt. pl.* made a ringing noise, 39; OE. hringan.
r[outting], snoring, 436; OE. hrūtan.
rownde, *adv.* 183; OF. rund.
rowte, troop, 128, 202; OF. route.
ruste, *inf.* 254; OE. rūst, *n.*
ruyde, violent, noisy, 42; OF. ruide.
ryalle, royal, rich, 339; **ryall,** regal, 128; OF. rial.
ry[c]hely, 270; OE. rīce + -ly.
ryde, *inf.* 131; *pr. pl.* **ryden,** 360 *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* **ryde,** 100; *pt.* 3 *s.* **rode,** 202; OE. rīdan.
rye, 380; OE. ryge.

ryfe, abundance, 258; ON. rīfr; late OE. rȳfe.
ryme, *imp. s.* open up, 289; OE. rȳman.
rynges, rings, 343; OE. hring.
ryse, *inf.* 211; OE. rīsan.
ry[t]he, right, prerogative, 134; OE. riht.

sable, (*heraldic*) black, 157; OF. sable.
sadde, strong, unyielding, 193; **sade**, massive, heavy, 146; OE. sæd.
sadills, saddles, 394; OE. sadol.
sadly, seriously, 18; heavily, 215; OE. sæd + -ly.
safe, *adj.* 427; *prep.* save, 238, 418; **saue**, 347; OF. sauf; *cp.* **vouche**.
said, *v.* **say**.
sakkes, sacks, 250; OE. sacc.
sall, *v.* **schal**.
Salomon, Solomon, 11.
samen, together, 360; OE. somen; ON. saman.
sandisman, messenger, 204; *gen. of* OE. sand + mann.
saue, *pr. pl.* save, 401; *pt.* 2 *s.* **saued**, 444; OF. sauver.
saue, *v.* **safe**.
sawe, saying, 11, 67; OE. sagu.
sawe, *v.* **see**.
say, *pr.* 1 *s.* 146; 3 *s.* **sayse**, 325; *pl.* **sayen**, 159; **sayne**, 399; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* **say**, 19; *pt.* 1 *s.* **sayd**, 99; 3 *s.* 124; **said**, 108; *pl.* **sayden**, 204; *pp.* **sayde**, 11, 321; OE. secgan.
sayn, saint, 159; *pl.* **sayntes**, 310; OF. saint.
scathed, *pp.* hurt, 362; OE. sc(e)aðian; ON. skaða; *v.* **skathill**.
s[chadewe], *inf.* 400; OE. sceadwian.
schake, *inf.* go, 403; OE. scacan.
schal, *pr.* 2 *s.* 426; **schalte**, 279; **schall**, 260; 3 *s.* 10; **sall**, 369; **schal**, 373; *pl.* **schall**, 13, 179; *pt.* 1 *s.* **scholde**, 178; 2 *s.* 257; **scholdeste**, 258; 3 *s.* **schold**, 388; *pl.* 152; OE. sceal.
schalkes, men, 317, 432; OE sc(e)alc.
schame, 400; OE. sc(e)amu.
scharpynynge, 185; OE. scearp + -en + -ing.
Scharshull, William de Shareshull, Chief Justice (*see* Notes and Preface), 317.
schauynge, shaving, 185; OE. sc(e)afan + -ing.
schawe, wood, thicket, 403; *pl.* **schawes**, 53; OE. scaga.
schenchipe, ignominy, 432; OE. scend- + -ship.
schent, *pp.* disgraced, 317; OE. scendan.
schetys, sheets, 463; OE. scēte.
schewe, *inf.* 403, 421; *imp. s.* **schew**, 481; OE. scēawian.
schiltrons, troops, 53; OE. scildtruma.
scho, she, 416; *dat. acc.* **hir**, 415; OE. sēo.
schold, **scholde**, **scholdeste**, *v.* **schal**.
scholdirs, 481; OE. sculdor.
schonn, *inf.* shun, 432; OE. scunian.
schorte, short, 1 (*heading*); OE. sc(e)ort.
schynethe, *pr.* 3 *s.* 185; OE. scīnan.
scorned, *pp.* 362; *aphetic form of* OF. escorner.
sectours, executors, 443; **sektours**, 302; *aphetic form of* AF. executour.
see, sea, 312; OE. sæ.
see, *inf.* 9; *pr.* 1 *s.* 157, 188; **se**, 321; *pt.* 1 *s.* **see**, 83; **sawe**, 137; 3 *s.* 89; *pp.* **sene**, 3; OE. sēon.
seere, divers, 3; ON. sēr.

sege, seat, 483; OF. siege.
sekere, resolute, 193; OE. sicor.
sektours, *v.* sectours.
selcouthes, marvels, 3; OE. seldan + cūþ.
seldom, 160; OE. seldan.
sele, bliss, 204; OE. sǣl.
seled, *pp.* sealed, 146; OF. seeler.
sell, *inf.* 401; **selle**, 284; *pr. pl.* **sellen**, 233: **sellyn**, 396; *pp.* **solde**, 261; OE. sellan.
selly, marvellous, 99; OE. sellic.
semys, *pr.* 3 *s.* seems, 178; *impers.* **þaym semy[th]**, they seem, 176; *pt.* **þam semede**, 97; ON. sōma.
sen, *v.* sythen.
send, *inf.* 9; *imp. s.* 483; *pr.* 1 *s.* **sende**, 466; 3 *s.* **send[es]**, 125; OE. sendan.
sendell, a rich stuff, 180; **sendale**, 394; OF. cendal.
sene, *v.* see.
septure, sceptre, 87; OF. sceptre.
sercles, rings, 394; OF. cercle.
serue, *inf.* serve, 177, 388; *pp.* **serue[d]**, 492; *pr.* 1 *s.* [serue], 108; OF. servir.
sett, *imp. s.* 483; *pp.* 87; set for sale, 407; OE. settan.
seuen, seven, 299; OE. seofon.
seuer, *inf.* divide, 443; AF. severer; OF. sevrer.
sewes, sauces, 339; broths, 381; OE. sēaw.
se[w]es, *pr.* 3 *s.* sues, 302; OF. su-, *stem of* suivir.
sex, six, 79; **sexe**, 157; OE. sex.
sexte, sixth, 180; OE. sexta.
showen, *pt. pl.* pushed, 53; OE. scūfan.
siche, such, 137; OE. swilc.
[si]de, ample, long, 411; OE. sīd.
silke, *n.* 82, 414; OE. sioloc.
silken, 463; covered with silk, 87; OE. siolcen.
siluer, 363, 427; **siluere**, 214; **s[iluer]**, 500; OE. siolfor.
sir, 204; OF. sire.
skathill, harmfull, 443; ON. *skǫþull; *cp.* Goth. skaþuls; *v.* schathed.
skyll, reason, 362; ON. skil.
slabbande, *pr. p.* trailing in dirt, 411; *cp.* Dan. slab, mud.
slee, clever, 6; ON. slœgr.
sleght, *pp.* slackened, let down, 411; OE. slæccan.
sleues, sleeves, 411; OE. slīefe; OAngl. slēfe.
smytte, *inf.* smite, 431; OE. smītan.
snyppes, snipe, 349; ON. (mȳri)-snīpa.
so, 4; OE. swā.
softe, gently, 483; OE. sōfte.
sogoure, sugar, 350; OF. sucre.
solde, *v.* sell.
some, 189; OE. sum.
someris, *gen. s.* summer's, 165; OE. sumor.
sone, son, 9; *pl.* **sones**, 400; OE. sunu.
sone, soon, 85, 231; OE. sōna.
sone, sun, 33, 165; **sonn**, 89, 299; OE. sunne.
sore, 454; OE. sār.
sorowe, 331; OE. sorh.
sothe, truth, 18; OE. sōþ.
soule, 261; OE. sāwel.
southewarde, 9; OE. sūþweard.
sowede, *pt.* 3 *s.* bleared, 215; *see Note.*
sowes, *pr.* 3 *s.* 370; OE. sāwan.
sowme, sum, 192; AF. summe; OF. somme.
sowpped, *pt.* 1 *s.* supped, drank, 215; OE. sūpan.
soyle, land, 401; OF. soil.
spare, *inf.* 224; *pr.* 2 *s.* **spareste**, 260; *pl.* **spare**, 398; OE. sparian.
sparrede, *pp.* enclosed, kept, 238; OE. (ge)sparrian.

sparthe, halberd, 238; ON. sparða
Spayne, 139.
speche, speech, 325; OE. spǣc, *later form of* sprǣc.
spedfully, speedily, 224; OE. spēd + -fully.
spedles, useless, vain, 325; OE. spēd + -less.
speken, *inf.* 325; OE. specan, *later form of* sprecan.
spende, *inf.* 224; *aphetic form of* OE. āspendan.
spere, spear, 238; OE. spere.
spred, *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* spread, 485; OE. sprǣdan.
sprynge, saplings, 398; OE. spring.
spyces, 339; OF. espice.
spyres, sprouts, 398; OE. spīr.
sqwyeres, squires, 194; OF. escuyer.
standes, *v.* **stondes.**
stedis, steeds, 209; OE. stēda.
stele, steel, 113; OE. stȳle; OM. stēli.
stelen, *adj.* steel, 252; OE. stȳlen.
steppede, *pt.* 3 *s.* 35; OE. stæppan.
sterlynges, coins, 252; *cp.* MHG. sterlinc.
stirre, *inf.* 127; OE. styrian.
stondes, *pr.* 3 *s.* stands, 70; **stondeth**, 101; **standes**, 228, 382; OE. standan, stondan.
stones, jewels, 343; OE. stān.
[strecche], *inf.* go, 471; OE. streccan.
stremys, currents, 42, 460; OE. strēam.
strike, *inf.* 229; *pr. pl.* 107; OE. strīcan.
stroke, blow, 107; *pl.* **strokes**, 142; OE. strīcan, strāc.
stroye, *inf.* destroy, 229; *pr.* 2 *s.* **stroyeste**, 265; *aphetic form of* OF. destruire.
stryffe, strife, 265; OF. estrif.
stuffede, *pp.* clad, 142; provided, equipped, 168; **stuffed**, packed in, 252; OF. estoffer.
sturte, contention, 265; *metath. form of* strut, *cp.* OHG. strūz.
stynt, *inf.* cease, 195; **stynte**, 107; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* **stynt**, 229; OE. styntan.
swannes, 340; OE. swan.
sweped, *pp.* swept, carried off, 46; OE. *swǣpan; *cp.* ON. sveipa.
swerdes, swords, 320; OE. sweord.
swete, sweet, 353; OE. swēte.
sweuen, dream, 46; OE. swefen.
swyngen, *inf.* combat, fight, 320; OE. swingan.
swythe, quickly, 46; OE. swīðe.
syde, 193; *pl.* **sydes**, 60; OE. sīde.
syghte, sight, 137; OE. (ge)sihþ.
symple, 414; OF. simple.
synes, signs, 188; OF. sine.
synn, sin, 261; OE. synn.
sythen, *adv.* then, 276; *conj.* since, 169; **sythen þat**, 1, 427; **sen**, 134; OE. siþþan.

take, *inf.* 352; *pr.* 2 *s.* **tast**, 445; 3 *s.* **takes**, 122; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* **take**, 448; ON. taka.
takynge, *n.* taking, 2; ON. taka + -ing.
tale, *n.* 31; OE. talu.
tartes, 341; OF. tarte.
tasselde, *pp.* tasselled, 82; OF. tassel, a clasp.
tast, *v.* take.
tauerne, tavern, 277; OF. taverne.
tayte, merry, 477; ON. teitr.
teche, *imp. s.* direct, 477, 489; OE. tǣcan.
teeles, teal, 352; *cp.* Du. teling.
tell, *inf.* 31; **telle**, 18; *pr.* 3 *s.* **tellys**, 181; *pt.* 3 *s.* **tolde**, 293; *pp.* 445; OE. tellan.
ten, 341; OE. tīen; Angl. tēn.
tene, *inf.* vex, 247; *pr.* 3 *s.* **tenys**, 341; *impers.* **[me ten]yth**, 358; OE. tēonian.

tent, heed, 445; *aphetic form of* OF. atente.
thaire, their, 20; **thayre**, 39; **þaire**, 208; **þair**, 383; ON. þeirra.
than, than, 56; **then**, 298; **þan**, 28; OE. ðanne, ðænne.
than, *v.* then.
thare, *impers. pr.* it needs, 201; OE. þearf, þearft, þeart-tu, þar-tu (*2nd pers. sing.*), *whence* þar.
that, *pron. rel.* 5, 243; **þat**, 20; he that, 447; that, 147; that which, 286; OE. ðæt.
that, *conj.* 1; **þat**, 195, 487; OE. ðæt.
thay, **thaym**, *v.* they.
thayre, *v.* thaire.
the, 2; **þe**, 28; *rel. pron.* those who, 442; late OE. ðe.
the, *v.* thou.
thefe, thief, 228; OE. þīof, þēof.
then, then, 64; **thene**, 17; **than**, 218, 227, 284, 291, 324, 423; **þan**, 45; [þan], 360; OE. ðanne, ðænne.
ther-by, beside, 335; OE. ðǣrbī.
there, 3; where, 123, 312; **ther**, 35; **þer**, 432, 503; there, 124; OE. ðǣr.
they, 37; **thay**, 161; **þay**, 39; **þay . . . þay**, these . . . those, 379; *dat. acc.* **thaym**, 162, 176; **þam**, 97, 211; ON. þeir; *cp.* **þam-selfe**.
thies, *v.* this.
thikke, 190; *adv.* 113; OE. þicce.
thirde, 156; OE. þridda; ONorth þirda.
this, 8; *pl.* 206; **thies**, 54; OE. ðis.
thi-seluen, thyself, 264; **þi-seluen**, 374, 389; OE. ðē selfum.
[thog]he, though, 357; OE. ðāh.
thoghte, *v.* thynke.
thoo, those, 224; OE. ðā, *pl.*
those, 317; OE. ðās, *pl.*
thou, 248; **þou**, 105; *dat. acc.* **the**, 103, 204, 329; **þe**, 373, 462; OE. ðū.
three, 175; **th[ree]**, 25; OE. þrēo.
threpe[d], *pt. pl.* chid, argued, 37; OE. þrēapian.
throly, keenly, 37; ON. þrāliga.
throstills, throstles, 37; OE. þrostle.
thurgh, through, 2; OE. ðurh.
thus, 259; **þus**, 362; OE. ðus.
thy, 104; **thyn**, 268; **thi**, 246; OE. ðīn; *cp.* þi-seluen.
thynke, *inf.* 128; *pr.* 1 *s.* **thynk**, 499; 3 *s.* **thynkes**, 68, 229; *pl.* **thynken**, 107, 401; *imp. s.* **thynke**, 103; *pt.* 1 *s.* **thoghte**, 84; OE. þencan.
thynke, *pr. impers.* it seems, 99, 453; **thynkes**, 146; *pt.* **thoghte**, 47; OE. þyncan.
till, 55; **til**, 469; **tyll**, to, 38; ON. til.
tille, *inf.* till, 288; OE. tilian.
titmoyses, titmice, 352; ON. tittr + OE. māse.
to, 9; till, 245, 470; too, 224, 372; OE. tō.
to-fore, before (me), 434; OE. tōforan.
to-gedir, together, 182; **to-gedire**, 25; OE. tōgædere.
to-gedirs, together, 106; OE. tōgædere + -s.
tolde, *v.* tell.
tonge, speech, 67; **tong**, 364; OE. tunge.
tonne, tun, cask; *pl.* **tounnes**, 189; OE. tunne.
toune-hede, town-head, upper end of the town, 277.
tounen, *pr. pl.* sound, blow, 358; OF. ton, *n.*
townn, town, 489; *d. s.* **towne**, 377; OE. tūn.
tresone, treason, 2; OF. traïson.
tretys, treatise, 1 (*heading*); OF. tretis.

trompers, trumpeters, 358; OF. trompe + -er.
trotte, *n.* 122; OF. trot.
trotte, *inf.* 489; OF. trotter.
trouthe, troth, 307; OE. trēowþ.
Troye, 2.
trynes, *pr.* 3 *s.* goes, 122; *cp.* Sw. trīna.
tuly, red, 82; OF. tieulé, tile-coloured.
tuttynge, *pr. p.* projecting, 82; OE. *tūtian; *cp.* OE. tȳtan.
twa, *v.* two.
twayne, two, 158; OE. twēgen.
twelue, twelve men, a jury, 313; [twelue], 356; OE. twelf, twelfe.
twenty, 206; OE. twentig.
two, 78; **twa**, 356; OE. twā.
tyde, time, 165; OE. tīd.
tyll, *v.* till.
tyme, 396; *pl.* **tymes**, 3; OE. tīma.
ty[n]en, *inf.* fence, hedge in, 288; OE. tȳnan.

þair, þaire, *v.* **thaire.**
þam, *v.* **they.**
þam-selfe, themselves, 360; ON. þeim; OE. selfum; *cp.* **they.**
þan, *v.* **than, then.**
þat, the, 193, 221, 286; OE. ðæt.
þat, þay, *v.* **that, they.**
þe, þer, *v.* **the, thou, there.**
þeraftir, afterwards, 362; OE. ðǣr æfter.
þis, *v.* **this.**
þi-seluen, *v.* **thi-seluen.**
þofe, though, 470; ON. *þōh, *earlier form of* þō; *cp.* **all-þofe.**

vmbestounde, at times, 100; OE. ymbe stunde.
vmbtourne, *adv.* round about, 412; *cp.* OE. ymbtyrnan.
vmbygon, *pp.* surrounded, 118; **vmby-gone**, 62; OE. ymbgān.
vnder, 89; **vndere**, 252; **vndir**, 34, 80; OE. under.
vnthrifte, extravagance, 267; OE. un- + ON. þrift.
vn-till, unto, 58; [vn]till, thereunto, 473; *cp.* Goth. und = OE. ōþ; ON. til.
vp, *adv.* 38, 265, 282; OE. up.
vp-brayd, *inf.* reproach, 426; *pp.* **vp-brayde**, uplifted, 149; **vp-brayde**, laid hold of, 208; OE. up + bregdan.
vpon, *v.* **appon.**
vsage, custom, 130; OF. usage.
vttire, *v.* **owt.**

vayne, 294; OF. vain.
vaynes, veins, 479; OF. veine.
venyson, 334; OF. veneisun.
vouche, *pr. pl.* v. **safe**, guarantee, 427; OF. voucher, sauf.

wakede, *pp.* watched, 248; OE. wacian.
wakynge, holding 'wakes', 266; OE. wacian + -ing.
wale, choice, excellent, famous, 34; *cp.* ON. val, *n.*, Goth. walis, *adj.*
wale, quick, moving, 460; **in a w. tyme**, 396; *see Note.*
walke, *inf.* 257; *pp.* **walked**, 136; OE. wealcan.
walles, walls, 12; OE. weall.
walt, *v.* **weldys.**
waltered, *pp.* rolled, tossed about, 248; *cp.* Sw. vältra, MLG. walteren, OE. *wealtan (*pp.* gewælten).
wandrynge, *pr. p.* 32; OE. wandrian.
wanhope, despair, 309, 373; OE. wan + hopa; *cp.* MDu. wanhope.
wanne, *v.* **wyn.**
w[a]re, *subj. pr. pl.* keep, guard, 442; *cp.* MDu. waren, ON. vara.
warmen, *inf.* 450; OE. wearmian.

warre, aware, 85; OE. wær.
wasschen, *inf.* wash, 268; OE. wascan.
waste, *n.* 253, 473; OF. wast.
waste, *inf.* 450; *pr.* 2 *s.* **wastis,** 495; **wastes,** 439; 3 *s.* 230; *pp.* **waste[d],** 408; OF. waster.
wastoure, waster, 242; **wastour,** 392; OF. waster + -our.
wate, *v.* wete.
watir, 44; OE. wæter.
wawes, waves, 13; *cp.* MLG. waga.
waxen, *inf.* become, 13; **waxe,** 373; OE. weaxan.
waye, 104; OE. weg.
waytten, *inf.* search for, 257; *pr. pl.* **wayte,** wait, 437; *imp. s.* watch, 475, 496; *pt.* 1 *s.* **waytted,** 85; 3 *s.* looked round, 213; OF. waiter.
we, 5; *dat. acc.* **vs,** 205; OE. wē.
webbe, hangings, 64; OE. webb.
wedde, *inf.* 16; OE. weddian.
weddis, pledges, 284; OE. wedd.
wedir, weather, 437; OE. weder.
wedis, garments, 426; w[e]des, 420; OE. wǣde.
wedowe, widow, 280; OE. widuwe, weoduwe.
wee, *interj.* 282; OE. weg.
weghethe, *pr.* 3 *s.* weighs, 162; OE. wegan.
welcome, *adj.* 212; OE. wilcuma, + ON. velkominn.
weldys, *pr.* 3 *s.* wields, 236; *pt.* 3 *s.* **walt,** 420; OE. (ge)weldan.
wele, wealth, 236, 322, 390, 495; OE. wela.
wele, *v.* gud.
wellande, boiling, surging, 262, 351; ON. vella.
wenche, girl, 280; OE. wencel.
wende, *pr.* 1 *s.* go, 497; 3 *s.* **wiendes,** 226; *imp. s.* **wende,** 104; *pr. pl. subj.* **wend,** 198; *pt.* 1 *s.* **went,** 32; *pl.* **wentten,** 161; *pp.* **went,** turned about, 248; OE. wendan.
wene, *pr.* 1 *s.* think, 186; OE. wēnan.
wepyn, *inf.* 331; OE. wēpan.
wer, were, *v.* be, werre.
werke, *n.* work, 30, 216; OE. weorc.
werlde, world, 8, 47; **worlde,** 262; OE. weorold.
werped, *pt. s.* cast up, 423; *pp.* thrown up, 64; **werpede,** thrown, filled, 250; OE. weorpan.
werre, war, 497; **were,** 140; OF. werre; OHG. werra.
werse, *adj.* worse, 290; OE. wirsa, wersa.
wery, *pr. pl.* curse, 437; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* 285; *pp.* **weryed,** 242; OE. werian.
weste, 32; OE. west-.
westren, western, 8; OE. westerne.
Westwale, Westphalia, 140.
wete, *inf.* know, 216; **wiete,** 84; *pr.* 1 *s.* **wote,** 161; 3 *s.* **wiete,** 200; *imp. s.* **wate,** 389; *pt.* 1 *s.* **wiste,** 47; 3 *s.* 120; OE. witan.
whalles, whale's, 181; **w. bone,** walrus tusk; OE. hwæl.
whatt, 192; **whatte,** 279; **whate,** 47; **what,** lo! 119; OE. hwæt.
when, 9; OE. hwænne.
whete, wheat, 380; OE. hwǣte.
whi, why, 219; OE. hwȳ.
while, *n.* time, 27, 437, 447; OE. hwīl; *cp.* whylome.
while, *conj.* 8; OE. hwīl, *n.*
whils, till, 110; while, 154; OE. hwīl + -es.
white (*heraldic*), argent, 144; **whitte,** 156; OE. hwīt.
white-herede, white-haired, 150; OE. hwīt, hǣr + -ed.
who, 30; OE. hwā.
who-so, whoever, 18; OE. swā hwā.

whylome, formerly, 20; OE. hwīlum, *dat. pl.*; *cp.* **while.**
wiendes, *v.* **wende.**
wiete, *v.* **wete.**
wifes, *v.* **wyfe.**
wightly, swiftly, 104; *cp.* ON. vīgt, *adj. neut.*
wikked, wicked, 285; **wikkede**, 242; *cp.* OE. wic-, *pp. stem of* wīcan, to yield.
wil, *v.* **will.**
wilde, 13; **wild**, 385; OE. wilde.
wilfully, 408; OE. willa+-fully.
will, *n.* will, wilfulness, 16; wyl[l]e, 5; *pl.* **willes**, 104; OE. willa.
will, *pr.* 1 *s.* 472; 2 *s.* 468; **wolle**, 277; 3 *s.* **will**, 135; **wil**, 399; *pl.* **wil**, 360; *pt.* 2 *s.* **woldeste**, 375; **woldest**, 442; *pt.* 3 *s. subj.* **wolde**, 308; OE. willan.
wilnes, *pr.* 3 *s.* wishes, 216; OE. wilnian.
wirche, *inf.* work, 30, 287; *pt.* 3 *s.* **wroghte**, made, 25, 414; *pp.* worked, 117; dressed, 71; OE. wyrcan.
wisse, *inf.* show, direct, 308; *pr.* 3 *s.* **wysses**, 226; OE. wissian.
wiste, *v.* **wete.**
with, 5; by, 2, 313; towards, 471; **withe**, with, 278; OE. wiþ.
with-inn, 157; **with-in**, 357; OE. wiðinnan.
with-owt, 346; **with-owtten**, 24; OE. wiðūtan.
witnesse, 30; OE. witnes.
wittnesse, *pr. pl.* 189.
witt, wisdom, craft, 5, 25; OE. witt.
witterly, certainly, 389; **wittirly**, 200; ON. vitrliga.
wod, mad, 373; **wode**, 465; OE. wōd.
wodcokkes, woodcocks, 351; OE. wuducocc.
wodde, wood, 34; **wodd**, 396; **woodd**, timber, 450; OE. wudu.
wodwales, woodwales, woodpeckers, 351; OE. wudu+? OE. wealh, stranger; *cp.* MHG. witewal, MDu. weduwael; *cp.* **heghwalles.**
wodwyse, satyr, 71; OE. wuduwāsa.
wolde, **woldest**, **wolle**, *v.* **will.**
wolle, wool, 189, 250; OE. wull.
wondirs, *pr. impers.* it amazes, 392; OE. wundrian.
wondres, *v.* **wounder.**
wone, *inf.* dwell, 385; *pr.* 3 *s.* **wonnes**, 249; *pr.* 2 *s. subj.* won[ne], 472; OE. wunian.
woo, woe, 262; OE. wā.
woodd, *v.* **wodde.**
wordes, 6; **worde[s]**, 457; OE. word.
worlde, *v.* **werlde.**
worthe, *inf.* be, become, 130, 159, 253; **worthen**, 465; *pr.* 2 *s.* **worthes**, 300; *pr.* 3 *s. subj.* **worthe**, 245, 477; *imp. s.* w. vp, come up, 282; OE. weorðan.
worthiere, 56; OE. worðig.
worthiliche, noble, 34; OE. weorðlīc.
worttes, vegetables, 346; OE. wyrt.
wote, *v.* **wete.**
wounder, *n.* wonder, 236; *pl.* **wondres**, 84; OE. wundor.
wrake, harm, 198; OE. wracu.
[wraxl]inge, wrestling, 266; OE. wraxlian.
wrechede, wretched, 324; OE. wrecca+-ed.
wrethe, *inf.* anger, 465; *pr. pl. subj.* 395; OE. wræðan.
wrethyn, *pp.* twisted, 71; OE. wrīðan.
wriche, wretch, 309; OE. wrecca.
wroghte, *v.* **wirche.**
wronge, *n.* 200; ON. *wrangr, rangr; late OE. wrang.
wrothe, anger, 57; OE. wræþþu; *cp.* OE. wrāþ, *adj.*

wrothe, angry, 201; OE. wrāþ.
wrothly, angrily, 423; **wrothely**, 324; OE. wrāðlīce.
wryeth, *pr.* 3 *s.* turns aside, perverts, harms, 6; OE. wrigian.
wy, man, 8, 120, 201; *pl.* **wyes**, 136; OE. wiga.
wyde, wide, 250; *adv.* 136; **one w.**, 213; OE. wīd.
wydwhare, far and wide, 257; **wyde-whare**, 326; OE. wīde gehwǣr.
wyfe, 280; *pl.* **wifes**, 395; OE. wīf.
wy[li], wily, 6; OE. wīl + -y.
wyl[l]e, *v.* will.
wyn, *inf.* win, 390; **wynn**, 179; *pr.* 1 *s.* 230; *pl.* **wyn**, 442; *pt.* 3 *s.* **wanne**, 162; OE. winnan.
wyndowe, 475; ON. vindauga.
wyne, wine, 189, 213; OE. wīn.
wynges, *pl.* (*heraldic*) feathers, 92, 117; **wyng[es]**, wings, 473; ON. vængr.
wynner, 392; **wynnere**, 222; OE. winnan + -er.
wynnynge, *n.* 161; OE. winnan + -ing.
wyntter, winter, 275; *gen. s.* **wyntt[e]res**, 266; *pl.* **wyntere**, 206; **wyntter**, 299; OE. winter, *pl.* wintru.
wyre, 118; OE. wīr.
wyse, manner, 75; OE. wīse.
wyse, wise, 11; OE. wīs.
wysses, *v.* wisse.

ylike, all alike, 48; OE. gelīce.
ymbryne dayes, Ember Days, 310; OE. ymbren-dæg.
ynche, *pl.* inches, 341; OE. ynce.
ynewe, enough, 84; OE. genōh.
Ynglonde, England, 79.
Ynglysse, English, 61.
yow, *v.* ȝe.
yren, *v.* iren.
Yrlonde, Ireland, 141.

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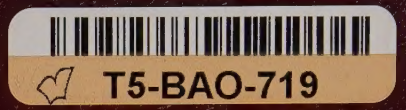
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